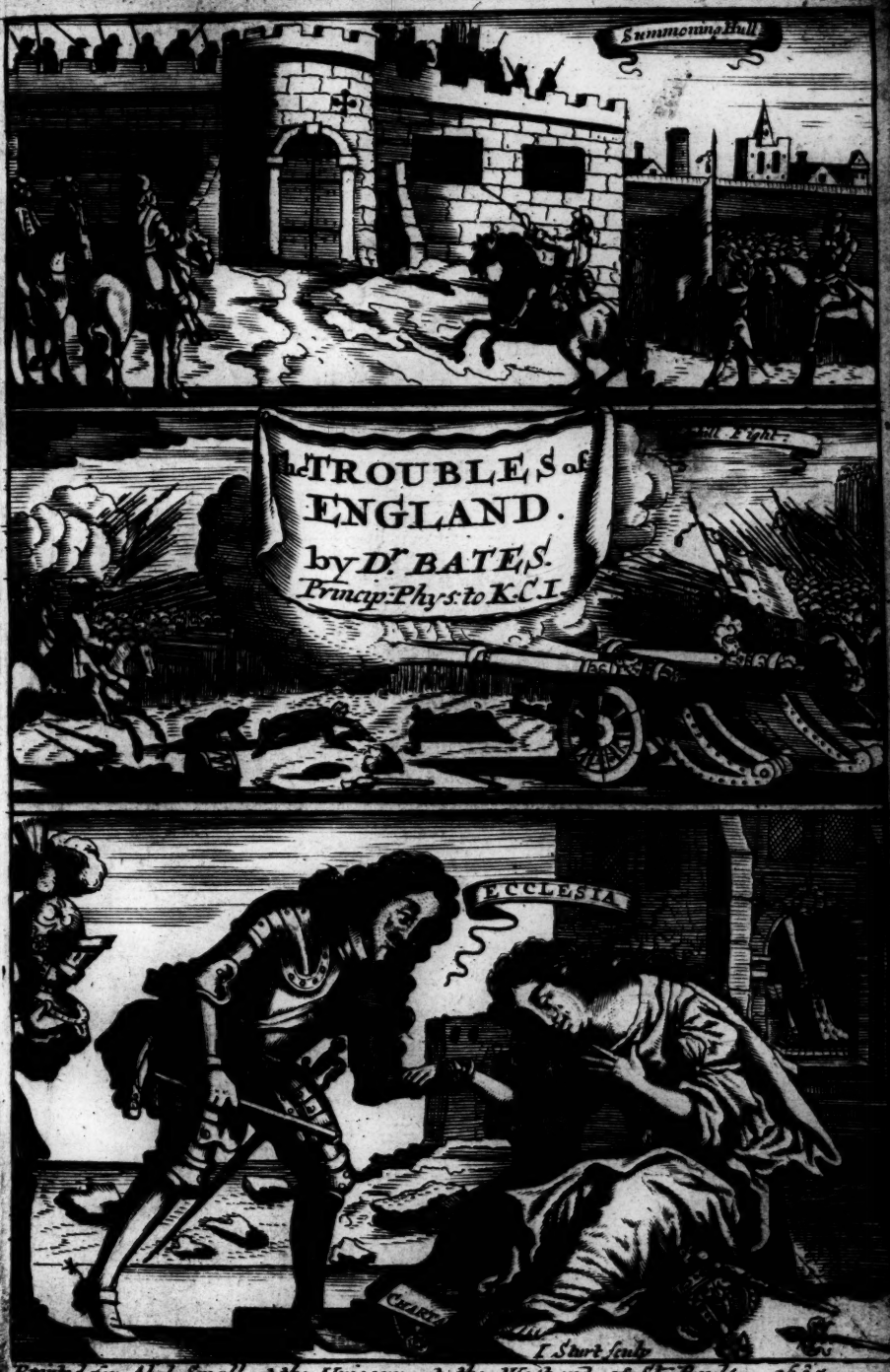

Printed for Abel Swall, at the Unicorn at the West end of St Pauls. 1685

Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia:

OR,

A ſhort Hiſtorical ACCOUNT

OF

The RISE and PROGRESS OF THE Late Troubles in *England*.

In TWO PARTS.

Written in Latin by Dr. GEORGE BATES, Principal Phyſician to K. *Charles* the I. and K. *Charles* the II.

MOTUS COMPOSITI:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Compoſing the Affairs of *England*

By the Reſtauration of K. *Charles* the Second,

And the Puniſhment of the Regicides:

And other Principal Occurrents to the Year 1669.

Written in Latin by THO. SKINNER, M.D.

Made ENGLISH.

To which is added a Preface by a Perſon of Quality, and in the body of the Work ſeveral choice Original Papers, an account of which is given in the end of the Preface.

London: Printed for Abel Swalle, at the *Unicorn* at the Weſt-end of St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1685.

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OR,

PRINCETON COLLEGE LIBRARY

The RISE and PROGRESS of the Late Troubles in England.

IN TWO PARTS.

Written in Latin by Dr. GEORGE BATES, Principal Physician to K. Charles the I. and K. Charles the II.

NOTUS COMPOSITI:

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THE PREFACE TO THE READER,

Added by a Perſon of Quality, who had the care of Reviſiing the Tranſlation.

IN the beginning of the World the Life of Man being very long, and the Tranſactions that happened neither great, various, nor many, there was little need of Hiſtory. The Father living many hundred years with his Children and Grandchildren, had leiſure and time ſufficient to imprint in their memories the ſtory of the few Occurrents that were paſt; and no man coming then to govern any conſiderable number of men, till he had lived the ſpace of three or four of our longeſt lives put together, was by that time abundantly furniſhed from his own Experience; and what had happened in his own days, with ſo much prudence, as might qualifie him for Government.

But when after the Deluge *the Life of Man was brought by degrees to about threeſcore and ten, or fourſcore years, and much of the latter part of that ſmall period became unfit for buſineſs by ſickneſs and other calamities of old age, and the affairs of the World grew numerous, whether conſidered as paſt, or preſent; then it became neceſſary that* Memorials *ſhould be kept for the relief of humane infirmity, the perpetuation of the memory of Actions, and that mankind, who had but a ſhort time to live upon the Earth, might in that time be quickly and eaſily furniſhed with an artificial Experience, derived from an artificial Memory; by which Governours might be qualified for government, and Subjects diſpoſed to a dutiful ſubmiſſion to the Prudence and Conduct of their Superiours: that ſo this ſhort and tranſitory Life of Man might be rendered as wiſe and happy as it was poſſible, and that Piety too might be nouriſhed in the minds of men by a ſerious reflection on the Works of Gods Providence, manifeſted in the ſeveral effects of his wiſe Conduct in the government of the World, whereby he has in every Age demonſtrated his Juſtice and Mercy in dealing to every man a Reward according to his Actions.*

Theſe were the Cauſes of the invention of Letters, and of writing Hiſtories or Memoires *of paſt Events for the uſe of Poſterity, by thoſe that had ſeen them, or were otherwiſe well inform'd concerning them. And thoſe into whoſe hands*

hands these first Monuments fell, were mighty fond of them, and by often reading and deeply considering them, in a short time much improv'd themselves in Wisdom, Virtue, and Piety. For the first and most ancient Stories were written without any vain pomp of affected Words or Rhetorical Expressions: the Historian not courting the Applause, but labouring hard for the Improvement of the Reader: And he again repairing to those venerable Repositories, not to seek a vanishing Light, unprofitable Pleasure and Devertisement, but a solid and durable Improvement, and the Rules of living well and wisely. So there is a threefold use of History: Political, Moral, and Divine. Of all which, briefly in their order.

The Political use of History is twofold: first, as it relates to Governours; and then, as it relates to Subjects or Inferiours.

The advantages Princes and Great men, who are to govern others, do or may reap from the reading of Histories well and wisely written, are innumerable; but then they are to such so well known, that I need not spend any time to remark them here; my designe not being to instruct my Betters, but to improve (if I may) my Equals.

And as to Subjects, the use of History is not much less; by which, if they would seriously reflect upon what is past, they might learn many things that would be of great use to them, and render theirs and their Governours lives more easie and happy.

1. *For first, they might observe with what difficulties all humane Governments are beset, how often God (for causes known sometimes onely to himself) defeats the wisest contrivances and designes of men: How neighbouring Princes interpose, and cross or frustrate their undertakings, out of interest, fear, hope, envy, and the like: How often want of due instruments, provisions, men, moneys, changes in the seasons; and a thousand other accidents intervene and prevent their purposes.*

Now this consideration would certainly (if men were modest and just) procure from them a due regard for their Superiours, even then when they are unfortunate, and not make every unprosperous accident that happened, the effect of sloath, negligence, carelesness, and supine stupidity. And being thus disposed, they might sometimes, at least, find the reason of publick Calamities in themselves; at others, in the justice of God punishing the sins of men; or in the neighbour Princes, or any other cause, rather than traduce and defame their Governours, and suspect their fidelity to their own Interests and Honour, which must be infinitely dear to any man of sence.

2. *History will teach men, that Religion and Liberty are very ill secured for the most part by Civil War and Rebellion: for as to the first, the right hand of God planted it in the World by Miracles and the effect of a mighty Providence, without Force, Wealth, Eloquence, or Policy, by*

the

the Bloud and Patience, the Meekneſs and ſimplicity, the Holineſs and Reſignation of Saints, Martyrs, and Holy men: And as it was planted, ſo it muſt be defended, ſo it muſt be preſerved.

But then there is nothing in the world more contrary to this method, than for Subjects to raiſe Tumults, encourage Inſurrections, liſt Armies, and attempt the ruine and deſtruction of their Princes and fellow-Subjects, to defend this Faith; which was planted by Meekneſs, and watered with the blouds and tears of the Martyrs: and this, if Religion be never ſo apparently perſecuted and endeavoured to be deſtroyed. But who can delineate the madneſs of perpetrating all theſe horrid Villanies out of meer fear & jealouſie Religion ſhould be deſigned upon, before there is one drop of Bloud ſpilt, or one man ruined or attempted to be ruined?

And as to Civil Liberty and Property, they were won from kind and good-natured Princes, by the dutiful Carriage and Civility of their Subjects. And therefore there is ſcarce a footſtep of them to be found amongſt thoſe Nations that were never Civilized; and many of them have never enjoyed thoſe rare Bleſſings, but in a low degree, and ſome ſcarce at all, as the ancient Egyptians.

Now as there is nothing more ungrateful, than for men to turn the Favours of their Princes, or indeed of any man, into occaſions of Quarrels and Reſiſtance, even when there is a real cauſe to be concern'd for the loſs of theſe precious

and ineſtimable Jewels; ſo is there nothing more fooliſh, than for men to put theſe Darlings of theirs to nurſe in Fields and Camps, reeking with the Bloud of their fellow-Subjects, ſurrounded with Fire and Smoak amidſt the roaring of Cannon, the ratling of Drums, the ſhrikes and groans of dying men, and all that is dreadful to fleſh and bloud; and after all to fall into the hands of an enraged Prince, if he prevails; and into the leſs-merciful clutches of their own Souldiers, if they happen to overcome their Prince. Certainly there cannot be a more impolitick Errour committed by Subjects, than to reſiſt and rebel, when their Priviledges are really invaded: but then to do all this by way of prevention to be wheadled and cajoled into ſuch miſeries as thoſe with the meer fears and jealouſies of contingent and poſſible deſignes, this is a degree of Rage beyond all other human madneſſes, and can be inſpired by nothing but Furies & incroaching Devils, who take poſſeſſion of the very ſouls of ſuch men, as they are ſaid to have done heretofore of ſome mens bodies. And there is not a more powerful Amulet againſt theſe Miſeries, than a due obſervation of the Tragedies theſe Devils have heretofore raiſed in the world. The truth is, almoſt all the Nation are ſatisfied that next the Mercies of God, nothing did more contribute to our late Preſervation, than the remembrance of our former Miſeries: And the Hiſtory of them may have very near the ſame effect upon our Poſterity.

3. *The*

3. *The third and laſt Political uſe of Hiſtory, is to acquaint the World with the nature and temper of men. There is ſcarce any thing more difficult than for a man to know himſelf well; and if he did not ſometimes ſee himſelf in others, he would hardly perhaps ever do it: But then who but God can pretend to know all the various, changeable, and inconſtant humours, deſignes, and ends of the Maſs of Mankind in the ſpace of thoſe few years we are to live? and yet if it were poſſible, how infinite is the danger of being miſtaken and purchaſing our experience at the price of our ruine?*

But Hiſtory, like a kind Miſtriſs, leads us by the hand into her delightful Gardens, and there reads Lectures upon every Flower, Plant, and Weed, and truly acquaints us how this and the other ſped well or ill; and then aſſures us our Fortune will be the ſame, if we be not ſo wiſe as to take her word, but will be trying over again the ſame Experiments upon our ſelves or others. But above all, if we take Dema-goues, *People-drivers, the Flatterers and Adorers of the* Many, *for good men, or good friends, or in ſhort, any man for a good Commonwealths-man or Patriot, who is not a good loyal hearty Subject.*

If men would thus a while conſult in Hiſtory the honeſt policy of preſerving themſelves and their Countries from Ruine and Confuſion, they could not but obſerve, that Immorality *was in every Age the greateſt Enemy of Mankind.*

That

That Ambition, Pride, Avarice, Revenge, Luſt, and Luxury, and the reſt of theſe horrid deformities of Mortality, were the real weights which ſet theſe Machines in motion, which have torn down Empires, and ruined the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms; and particularly have in the memory of man twice, bid fair for the ruine of ours, under two Princes of ſo exact a Juſtice, and ſo God-like a Clemency and Goodneſs, that their Subjects having no real Calamities to complain of (which is a Felicity rarely given by Heaven to the beſt Ages) our wanton Countrymen, ſick of Peace, Plenty, and Proſperity, rifled the Cabinet of God Almighty, and the innocent boſoms of two excellent Princes, and pretended they diſcovered their deſignes of introducing Popery and Arbitrary Government. And by theſe Chimerical *fears intoxicated and bewitched the poor Populace, and putting them at laſt in fearful Commotions, theſe quick-ſighted Privado's of Heaven, the Cenſors of Princes, the Darlings of the Rabble, mounted the Saddle, and drove the People as the Devils did the heard of Swine down the ſteep Rocks of Rebellion, Sobiſm, and Treaſon, while they who put them into this miſerable condition, reaped the Wealth, and divided the Honours and Employments of the Nation amongſt them, and under the maſk of a pompous Piety, were religiouſly proud, covetous, ambitious, revengeful, inſolent, treacherous, perjurous, and in a word, a parcel of the moſt ſanctified Rogues and Trayturs that ever the Sun ſhin'd upon. When*

When God Almighty reduced us out of our Hell of Miſery, and Chaos *of Confuſion, there was no Apologie more frequent in the mouths of men than this:* Who could have thought that men of ſuch ſeeming Piety, of ſo exalted and eminent a zeal for the Glory of God, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberty and Property of the Subject, that ſuch men, I ſay, as theſe ſhould hatch in their minds ſuch horrid Villanies, Treaſons, Rapines, Murders, Perjuries, and ambitious Projects, as we have ſince with aſtoniſhment ſeen them practiſe? *Well, if they had wiſely conſidered the Hiſtories of other Countries, or of former Ages, they might eaſily have foreſeen and prevented all this Miſery: for whenever men are more ſollicitous for the faults of their Superiours, than careful to amend their own; when they ſeek to win the entire love and eſteem of Subjects from their Princes and Governours; let the outſide be what it will, there is Pride, Ambition, Avarice, and Diſcontent within: and therefore ſuch men, of all others, are never to be truſted.*

This Thought well purſued, will lead a man home too, and give him an occaſion to ſearch his own heart, and try diligently whether he is a good and uſeful Member of the Civil Society in which he lives: If he is under the dominion of any of theſe Vices, let him never call himſelf a loyal Subject, or a good Patriot; for whatever his preſent intentions are, he will be neither,

when

when his Intereſt ſhall lie croſs to his Duty. And becauſe it is much harder to believe ill of ones ſelf, than of another, let Hiſtory acquaint him how many men have been drawn in by their own ſecret, and in all probability to themſelves undiſcovered Vices, till beyond their firſt intentions or thoughts, they have been ſwallowed up in an Abyſs of horrible Crimes and Diſorders; and what have betided them, may be our lot too, if we do not purge out, or at leaſt watch the motions of theſe Diſturbers of the World in us.

The Doctrines of Morality are ſometimes unpleaſant and uneaſie to corrupted minds, and do not eaſily inſinuate and obtain admiſſion; and when they are received, do often make ſuch ſlight impreſſions, that they vaniſh in oblivion and forgetfulneſs: but examples convey them to us with pleaſure and delight, and the variety and wonderful accidents that are to be met with in all Hiſtories, which are nothing but the imagery and various colours of Virtues and Vices embodied and made viſible to us, make vived and laſting impreſſions on the minds of men, and ſtamp and engrave the Ideas of them on the fancy and memory, ſo that nothing but death can deſtroy or obliterate thoſe impreſſions. And this was one reaſon why the Ancients cloathed their moral Obſervations in Apologues, Fables, and Parables; but Hiſtory having the reality of perſons, names, times, and places, do infinitely exceed theſe fictitious repreſen-

preſentations: and therefore as Hiſtory grew up in the World, theſe fictitious Images of it were laid by and antiquated.

Examples fit all Capacities, at leaſt ſome or others of them, in a vaſt variety; whereas Precepts can hardly be ſo cloathed, but ſome will deſpiſe the meanneſs of the language, or others not underſtand the goodneſs of it: whereas Examples fit themſelves to all Capacities, and teach men before they are aware of it, the lovelineſs of Virtue, the turpitude and baſeneſs of Vice, and the different events which for the moſt part in every Age have attended them.

This brings me to the third particular I propoſed, the divine uſe of Hiſtory. As the World was not the Product of blind Fate or Chance, but the Work of a Great, Wiſe, and Holy God; who raiſed and built it out of Nothing by his infinite Power, and by his Wiſdom brought it into this beautiful order in which we behold and admire it: So neither did he deſert it when he had form'd and adorn'd it, but has ever ſince govern'd it with one unſearchable and irreſiſtible Providence and Wiſdom. And this not onely the inanimate and irrational part of it, but above all, his eyes are upon the children of men; and in the government, protection, preſervation, rewarding and puniſhing, exalting and abaſing them, he exerciſeth ſo ſteady, juſt, and reaſonable a Providence, *but withal, ſo abſtruſe, hidden, and reſerved, that it exceeds the Wiſdom of the greateſt*

and

and wiſeſt of men to penetrate into the reaſons of it, or to foreſee the events before they diſcover themſelves in time.

Now in the Hiſtory of the Actions and Events of mankind, there is an undeſigned Hiſtory of this Providence *of God, which like ſome Rivers, ſometimes run above ground plain and delightful, or terrible and inſtructive at the firſt glance; but at others, buries it ſelf under Mountains and Hills: and though in thoſe ſecret receſſes it ſtill (like thoſe Rivers) maintains an uninterrupted courſe, yet can no mortal eyes purſue its ſtreams, and obſerve its windings and turnings, or when and where it will break out and again diſcover it ſelf, till he himſelf is pleaſed to bring it into the light again.*

Now Hiſtory has brought down an uninterrupted thread of the methods of Providence from the creation of the World to this day; by which, as in a Glaſs, we may ſee a repreſentation of the Juſtice and Mercy of God in his dealings with the ſons of men, and admire that wonderful Wiſdom and Power, which, without offering violence to the freedom of mens wills, has yet been able to diſpoſe them to effect his own moſt holy purpoſes, when they leaſt deſigned it; without any violence has protected Virtue againſt the utmoſt rage of Men and Devils, and preſerved it through all the Ages of an ill World; and puniſhed Vice by it ſelf, in ways ſo abſtruſe and ſecret, that the Workers of Iniquity

quity have been ſtun'd and amazed to ſee not onely their ill deſignes over-ruled, but made the Inſtruments of their own deſerved ruine.

There is no one thing that hath in every Age ſo much ſtaggered the belief of a divine Providence governing the World and the Affairs of Mankind, as the proſperity of wicked and lewd men, and the miſery and oppreſſion of good and virtuous men. But this Miſt will vaniſh like ſmoak, when men are pleaſed to take a view of paſt Ages, and obſerve the Cataſtrophies of the ſeveral Periods and Ages: for that which may ſeem at one time to be all Myſtery and Riddle, will by degrees open and unfold it ſelf, till at laſt there will be nothing more apparent, than that God had all this while his eyes upon both the one and the other, and kept the inviſible Reins in his own hands, and by ways unperceived both by the good and bad, at laſt, tho not ſuddenly, brought them to their deſerved ends, and recompenced both according to their different deſerts; and this will give us an aſſurance, that as it hath been in paſt Ages, ſo it will be in ours; the ſame God is ſtill at the Helm, and he will, as heretofore he has, conduct us alſo to that end we have deſerved, be it good or bad, without reſpect of perſons, which will preſerve us in Peace and Virtue, diſpel all melancholly thoughts, and free us both from ſpeculative and practical temptations.

It is not hard to apply all I have ſaid to the Hiſtory of our Late Revolutions in England: but

but as I design a Preface to a very short History of them, and so must not be long: so the Reader will be much more instructed and better pleased to reflect upon that History, and to compare it with this Preface, and then determine with himself whether these thoughts of mine upon this occasion are pertinent, and whether there be any thing in the following Story that will prove and illustrate the truth of what I have here said; and therefore to him I shall leave it.

But because these Pieces never appeared before in English, *may I have the Readers leave to give him a short account of the designes of them.*

The Author of the first two Parts was Dr. Geo. Bates, *a learned and an eminent Physician of* London *in the last Age, who was afterwards Physician to* Oliver Cromwel, *and so must of necessity be intimately acquainted with many things which were not known to others, and had means to look through all the disguises of that cunning Impostor, as his Station and Employment also afforded him an easie access to most of the Grandees that had then a large share in promoting the Miseries of* England. *The first part was published in the time of* Oliver Cromwel, *and yet is written in an Air and Stile which shews the Author durst speak truth, when if discovered, his life would have paid the price of his Veracity; and yet that time too may yield us a good assurance he did not venture his life for falshoods and slaunders; it was not*

then

then a time to bely prosperous, insolent, and inraged Villains.

He gives us this account of the Work himself by an Epilogue added in a latter impression, at the end of the First Part.

Whilst the Original of this small History was in Writing, it was several times seen by the Reverend *George* Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, the Worthy *Nicholas Oudart* Secretary and Counsellour to the *Prince of Orange*; by Sir *John Wederburn* Knight; by Dr. *Richard Owen* Professor of Divinity, and Rector of St. *Swithins* in *London*; by Dr. *George Ent*, heretofore Physician to *Charles* the First, and now to the present King; and also by *Fabian Philips* an Attorney, who was my Assistant in searching the Rolls, Offices, and Monuments of the Law, (that I may not mention *Dugard* who printed it) men above all exceptions: although there is an insolent Defamer, who pretends I have fathered another mans Work, whose Calumnies I neither value nor fear.

This Passage is inserted by him onely to prove he was the Author of it, but is at the same time a strong proof of his integrity: for it is very well known, these Persons were not all of one side in our late Distractions.

The first Part of this Piece was first printed about the year 1651, without his name, for the information of Strangers, and therefore he premiseth a short account of the Prerogatives of the

Crown, and the Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberties of the Subject, here; which had been ſo abominably miſrepreſented to Forreigners, that they ſtood generally in great doubt on which ſide the right lay, and conſidering the time when it came out firſt, nothing could be of greater uſe and benefit to the then-oppreſſed intereſt of our late Soveraign.

Nor was it onely uſeful abroad, but at home alſo: for the People of England *were then ſo diſtracted by the Contradictions betwixt the Royal and the Rebel Party, that they, at leaſt many of them, did as little know on which ſide to give their Verdict, as the Neighbour Nations. Hence the Learned and Ingenuous Mr.* Henry Foulis, *in his Preface to his* Hiſtory of the wicked Plots of our pretended Saints, *gives us this Account of himſelf:* As for the Author (*ſaith he*) whilſt a School-boy, he was too much ſway'd to *Presbytery*; and delighting in the Stories of our Times, had none to peruſe, but *May*, *Vicars*, *Rugg*, and ſuch-like partial Relators: by which means believing, with the ignorant, all things in print to be true, he was perſwaded to encline to the wrong ſide. But a little before his going to the *Univerſity*, lighting by chance upon Dr. *Bates*'s judicious Book *Elenchus Motuum*, he found the Laws and true Government to be oppoſite to his former Readings, and therein the Knavery and Juggling of their Oppoſers, ſtrange things which

he

he had never heard of before. Which, with ſome other aſſiſtance, ſo far prevail'd with him, that in a ſhort time he threw off Father Schiſm, and ever ſince, like little Loyal *John* in the Epitaph,

For the King, and Church, and Bloud-Royal,
He went as true as any Sun-Dial.

There are ſome others who have acknowledged to the World in print, the benefit they and the Government received from this firſt Part.

The Second Part was added by Dr. Bates, *after his late Majeſties Reſtitution, to inform the World of the manner of his Majeſties Eſcape from* Worceſter, *and how things were carried till the depoſition of* Richard Cromwel, *wherein is an excellent account of the bloudy War in* Ireland, *and the juſt Judgment of God upon the* Scotch *Covenanters for joyning with our Engliſh Parliamentarians, upon pretence of ſetting up* Presbytery *here, but indeed to inrich themſelves the ſecond time with the Spoils of* England; *the effect of which was, that* Presbytery *was ruined even in* Scotland *by* O. C. *and his victorious Independant Army, and they loſt at the ſame time all their Civil Priviledges, and were treated, till the Kings return, as a conquered People by their fellow-Rebels.*

The Third Part was written by one Dr. Tho. Skynner, *another Learned Phyſician, to conti-*

nue and bring down the Story, and ſhew the Joy of our Nation at the Reſtitution of his late Majeſty. It is in the Original written in a florid ſtile, and full of curious and ingenuous Reflections.

The Tranſlations of all theſe have been managed with great care, to make them both true to the Originals, and delightful to the Reader; onely the Tranſlator thought fit to ſupply ſome Papers which are but hinted at, or wholly omitted in the Author; as the Treaty of the Iſle of Wight, *in the Firſt Part; the Coronation-Oath, in the Third; and others. And alſo when there are any Papers or Expreſſions mentioned, to publiſh the original Papers and words, when he could find them; but when not, he hath humoured the Tranſlation as near the Latin as the ſence of the Author and* idiome *of the two Languages would permit.*

There is great hope that this ſhort account of our late horrible Confuſions here in England, *which is ſo acceptable in the Original to all Forreigners and Learned Engliſh-men, may now tranſlated be no leſs acceptable to all thoſe who either cannot read the Latin, or care not to give themſelves ſo much trouble; and that it may contribute ſomething to the intereſt of the Government, by forewarning men how they betake themſelves to thoſe courſes again which produced ſuch dreadful Effects heretofore.*

A

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PAge 22. line 7. read *Rathmeenes*, p.27. l.3. r. Arts, p.30. l.21.r.*Butler*, p.48.l.15. r. envied, p.58.l.7.adde most, p. 66.l.31.adde for, p.67.l.12.r.Execute, p.74.l.26.r.Nor, p.87. l.*penult*.dele are, p.96.l.14.r.make, p.104.l.35.r.hand, p.108. l.28.r.*Dirlton*, p.121.l.35.r.*Massey*, p.124.l.1.r. Coming presently to blows at the Town of *Wigan*, p.125.l.23.r.*Keith*, p. 204.l.35. r. obey.

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PAge 15. line 2. read retained, p.41.l.1.r.farce, p.44 l.14.r. *Leicester* Vicount *Hereford*, p.53.l.29.r.Solliciter-General, p.63.l.23.r. Sir *Richard Baker's*, p.66.l.16.r.*Mounson*, p.82.l. 29.r.*Falmouth*, p.86.l.20.dele was, p.90.l.2.r. fight.

A ſhort

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE Riſe and Progreſs OF THE Late Troubles in *England*.

ENgland, as all the Records of our Antiquity tell us, never was governed but by the authority of a King; and though it hath been divided into ſeveral Kingdoms, or rather *Camps*, yet it never had reſt from inteſtine Commotions, nor foreign Invaſions, till it came under the Obedience and Protection to one ſole Monarch. *The Right of Kings in* England,

Since that, it is now above a thouſand years that Kings in a continued ſucceſſion have reigned with ſupreme Authority in *England*. And ſo great all along hath been the Love and Reverence that the People have had towards *a Prince*, that he was always judged the fitteſt and moſt worthy of the Government, who was next in Bloud to the King; ſo that no factious Election, but lawful Birthright, could ever warrant a Title to the Crown. The Royal *Heir* of the laſt King, though an Infant, is immediately carried to the *Throne*, even in the *Cradle*: *In the perſon of a Monarch, for above a thouſand years,* *And he hereditary,*

And in this kind of immortality in reigning, the Laws glory, *That the King of* England *never dies.*

And never dying.

Nay, and by the ancient common Law, all Subjects above twelve years of age, are bound by Oath to bear a peculiar Faith (by the Laws called *Allegiance*) to the lawful Prince, to him alone, and for ever, even before he be crowned; and that their Obedience may be confirmed upon a double account, a religious Oath, that of *Supremacy*, is likewise to be taken to the King.

To him all swear Allegiance

and Supremacy.

I must here beg the Readers pardon, if in the very beginning I speak of the *Kings Prerogative*, the *Priviledges of Parliament*, and *Liberties of the People*; which to our Country-men who have studied the point, perhaps may be tedious, though to the Work we now undertake it be absolutely necessary; seeing thereby it will appear who have been the Violators, and who the Observers of the Laws.

The Prerogatives of the K. or chief marks of Majesty, and the Regalia, *belong onely to the King.*

In the first place, what great power the King has over the lives and fortunes of his Subjects, is hereby made manifest, that mediately or immediately they all hold their *Estates* of the *King*; that is to say, that whatever Lands and Possessions they enjoy in *fee* or *feudal rights*, they owe them more to the bounty of *the King* than to *Fortune.*

So that all Estates and Possessions are derived from him, and to him return at last.

And therefore all Estates failing of lawful Heirs, or when the Owners forfeit them by *Felony* or *Treason*, flow back to the *Kings* Exchequer, as to the Ocean from whence they have been derived.

He hath the care of Pupils and Lunaticks.

The *King*, as Father of the Country, has the care of the persons of *Pupils* and *Lunaticks*, and enjoys their Rents and Revenues. Nay, by the ancient Laws, it is not lawful for them to contract Marriage without his consent; and if they do, they are to be severely censured.

The power of coyning Money.

And that what is to be given to *Cæsar*, may be known by the publick Money, the matter, form, manner,

manner, and value of *Coyn*, is varied according to the will and pleaſure of the *King*.

All *Honours*, *Titles*, and *Priviledges*, all publick *Corporations* and *Societies*, flow from and are conſtituted by the *Crown*; the *Admiral*, *Chancellor*, *Treaſurer*, *Judges*, *Sheriffs*, *Juſtices of Peace*, are onely made by the King; in whoſe name alone their *Writs*, *Warrants*, and *Sentences* paſs: nor does any of them enter into Office before he hath taken an Oath *of Fidelity to the King, and of faithful adminiſtration.*

He conſers all Honours and Offices;

which are to be adminiſtred in his name alone.

None but the *King* has power of *Peace* and *War*, who orders *Military* Diſcipline according to his will and pleaſure, and not by the forms or preſcripts of Laws; and as he himſelf thinks fit, diſpoſes of the *Forces* both by Sea and Land; it being neceſſary that he who watches for the ſafety of the Commonwealth, ſhould be inveſted with ſufficient Power to repreſs inteſtine Seditions, and repel foreign Invaſions. Upon that account, it belongs onely to him to *appoint Muſters* and *Levies* of Souldiers, ſecure the Caſtles and Gariſons (with which maritim Fortifications *England*, even in the profoundeſt time of Peace, is no leſs ſecured than by the Seas); as often as there is need alſo to fit out a Fleet, and to ſet Governours and Commanders over both.

His power in matters of War.

Nor is the Sword neither to be weilded by any other hand but that which ſways the Scepter: ſo that if any one (without the Kings command) take up Arms for the defence of the *Kings Perſon* and Rights, he is by ſo doing guilty of *High-Treaſon*, and liable to the puniſhment of a Traytor, without a ſpecial Patdon from the King.

Nor is his Power more limited in Eccleſiaſtical than Civil affairs: for ſince the authority of the *Pope* being ſhaken off, the Church was made part of the Kingdom, and the Clergy after long reluctancy

Alſo in Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

began to be contented with the common priviledges of Subjects; the King became at length *Cuſtos utriuſq; tabulæ*, and (as he ever was in right before, ſo was he then) acknowledged and confirmed by Law to be ſupreme *Head* and *Governour* in *ſpiritual* as well as temporal affairs, and owned to be in a manner the *Biſhop* of the Kingdom; wherein, in the promotion of *Biſhops*, conferring of *Dignities*, appointing *Faſts*, enjoyning *Rites* and *Ceremonies* in the Church, he hath (with the advice of the Fathers and Rulers of the Church) always exerciſed a ſupreme and ſacred Power and Authority.

He moderates the rigour of Laws.

And judges in undecided caſes.

He hath alſo ſo great power over the Laws themſelves (though he obliges himſelf to govern according to Law) that ſometimes he moderates the rigour of the Law according to Equity, pardons Malefactors; and in caſes that are not decided by any Law, interpoſes his Imperial Sentence. Laſtly, that I may aſſert nothing raſhly, but all upon the credit of Lawyers, *the life, force, and authority of every thing that is acted in* England, *is to be found in the King alone.*

He chuſes his own Counſellors.

But becauſe the *King of England* has not, like *Briareus*, an hundred hands, nor can he, like the Sun, view all things at one glance; he hath been accuſtomed to create from amongſt the *Nobility*, *Biſhops*, *Judges*, and *Commons* of the Kingdom, without the envy and emulation of any, ſuch and ſo many Counſellors as he pleaſes, to aſſiſt and eaſe him in the weighty care of the Government.

He that mounts the Throne is never to be brought to the Bar, ſince the Law ſays he cannot die.

Having named theſe *Prerogatives* of a moſt Auguſt and Imperial Crown, what ſhall I call that barbarous and inhumane Principle and Purpoſe of bringing the *King* to Judgment before the Kings Tribunal, and then to ſmite him with the Sword which he alone is to draw; the *King*, I ſay, whom the

the Law it ſelf openly declares can never die? There is no neceſſity of curbing arbitrary government by ſuch inhumane Tyranny upon the ſacred Perſon of the *King*, ſince whatever may be done in the adminiſtration of the Government, either againſt the Laws of the Country, or inconſiſtent with the good and profit of the People, the blame and puniſhment of it is caſt upon the publick Miniſters: ſo that it was not flattery, but the higheſt Juſtice which gave ground to this noted maxime, *That the King cannot err, nor do any wrong*; becauſe the whole blame and all the puniſhment is wont, and ought to fall upon the publick *Miniſters* and *Counſellors*, whoſe duty it is to admoniſh the Prince, and to deny their concurrence with him in any thing that is unjuſt; and to reſigne their place, rather than obey him when he commands any thing contrary to Law.

Nor can he err, or do wrong. But as he offends by his Miniſters, ſo is he puniſhed.

Nay, the Laws are ſo ſollicitous for the ſafety of the Prince, as of him who is to maintain and preſerve the Law, that the next Heir to the *Crown*, whatſoever Crime he might be guilty or accuſed of whilſt he was a private perſon, yet by the death of his Predeceſſor, as by a certain poſtliminious Abſolution, he is freed from all taint and guilt; and his ſtepping up into the Throne purges him from all defects. It is enough to curb him that holds the Reins of the Government, *That he muſt expect the Judgment of God.*

The Heir of the Crown is by the death of his Predeceſſor ipſo facto *cleared from all guilt.*

Nevertheleſs, it is not lawful for the King to rule arbitrarily in *England*, oppreſs his Subjects, or make and abrogate Laws by his ſole Authority. But as the Law allows a decorous adminiſtration of abſolute Authority in ſome things to the King, ſo does it aſſigne to the Commons others, and thoſe no inconſiderable Priviledges in *the Kingdom*, in common with the King, that ſo the joynt Authority in Government might the more eaſily engage the Subjects to obedience.

Yet it is not lawful to rule arbitrarily.

What Rights belong to Parliaments.

To make and repeal Laws. *Impoſe Taxes.* *Legitimate Baſtards.* *Enact the VVorſhip of God.* *Set Rates on VVeights and Meaſures.*

For, for the making and repealing of Laws, and the interpreting and explaining former ambiguous Statutes; for raiſing of Money out of the ordinary courſe, when there is occaſion for it; legitimating of Baſtards; naturalizing of Strangers; altering and ſetling the Rights of Poſſeſſions; confirming by civil Sanctions the Divine Worſhip, after it hath by the Convention of the Clergy been formed according to the Word of God; ſetting Rates upon Weights and Meaſures, and the like; that the people may not ſeem to ſuffer any thing without their own conſent and concurrence, the Votes of *Parliament*, which is the ſupreme Court of *England*, and in conjunction with the *King*, under God, hath a certain Omnipotence in this little World, are neceſſarily required.

VVhat the Parliament of England *is.*

The *Parliament* is an Aſſembly of the *States of the Kingdom*, conſiſting of the *Biſhops*, *Lords*, and *Repreſentatives of the Commons*, called by the *King* who is the Head of it, who meet and ſit in two diſtinct places called the Upper and Lower Houſes, in reſpect of dignity not of ſcituation. The Upper Houſe (which is called the Houſe of Lords) contains two Eſtates, to wit, the Spiritual Lords who are the *Biſhops*, and the Temporal who are *Dukes*, *Marqueſſes*, *Earls*, and *Barons*; the *Judges* of the Kingdom aſſiſting to give advice in matter of Law, but not to vote.

The Upper Houſe of it.

The Lower.

The Lower Houſe conſiſts of the third Eſtate of the Kingdom, who are the Commons, and is therefore called alſo the *Houſe of Commons*; they are choſen by the plurality of Voices of the Freeholders of the Counties, and Freemen of Corporations, two Knights for each County or Shire, and two Burgeſſes for the moſt part for every City and Corporation-Town, according to the uſe and cuſtom of the place.

The

The day and place of the meeting of the Parliament is appointed by the *King*; by him also it is prorogued, transferred, and adjourned to another place, or dissolved at his pleasure. *The time and place appointed by the King.*

The Peers are summoned to attend in Parliament by *Writs* severally directed to them, and signed by the *King*. To the rest the Sheriffs of the several Counties by virtue of a *Writ* out of the *Chancery*, give notice that the King within a certain time orders an Election to be made of *Knights* and *Burgesses*, which he commands to be made by the Sheriff in time and place convenient. *They are called by Writs.*

Vetus Rescripti formula ad Dynastas.

Rescriptum *Regis* ad *Dynastas* seu *Pares* sic sonat: *Carolus Dei gratiâ*, &c. *Reverendissimo in Christo Patri*, &c. (si Episcopos compellet) *Consanguineo nostro* (si Duces, Marchiones vel Comites alloquatur) *Dilecto & fideli nostro* (si Barones.) *Quia de advisamento Concilii nostri, pro quibusdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, Nos, & Statum & defensionem Regni nostri Angliæ & Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ concernentibus, quoddam Parlamentum nostrum ad Westmonast.* &c. *teneri ordinavimus, & ibidem vobiscum & cum cæteris Prælatis, Magnatibus & Proceribus dicti Regni nostri Angliæ colloquium habere & tractatum; vobis in fide & Di-*

The ancient form of the Writ to the Peers.

The Kings Writ to the Nobles or Peers, runs thus: CHARLES by the grace of God, &c. to the most Reverend Father in Christ (*if it speaks to any of the Bishops*) to Our Cousin (*if it is addressed to any Duke, Marquess, or Earl*) To our Beloved and Faithful (*if to a Baron.*) Whereas by the advice of Our Council We have ordained that Our Parliament shall be holden at *Westminster*, &c. for the dispatch of certain difficult and urgent Affairs concerning (*or pertaining to*) Us, and the State and Defence of Our Kingdom of *England*, and of the Church of *England*, and there to hold a Colloquy and Treat with you and with the

lectione (ſi ad Epiſcopos mittatur Reſcriptum) *per fidem & Aſlegiantiam* (ſi ad Pares) *quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungendo mandamus, quod conſideratis dictorum negotiorum arduitate & periculis imminentibus, ceſſante quacunque excuſatione, die & loco dictis, perſonaliter interſitis Nobiſcum cum cæteris Prælatis, Magnatibus & Proceribus, ſuper dictis negotiis tractaturi, veſtrúmque Conſilium impenſuri, & hoc, ſicut Nos & honorem noſtram, ac ſalutem Regni prædicti & Eccleſiæ ſanctæ, Expeditionémque dictorum negotiorum diligitis, nullatenus omittatis,* (ſi ad Epiſcopos ſcribat) *præmonere Decanum & Capitulum Eccleſiæ veſtræ totúmque Clerum veſtræ Diœceſeos, quod idem Decanus & Archidiaconi in propriis perſonis, ac dictum Capitulum per unum, idémque Clerus per duos Procuratores idoneos, plenam & ſufficientem poteſtatem ab ipſis Capitulo & Clero habentes, prædictis die & loco perſonaliter interſint, ad conſentiendum his quæ tum ibidem de communi concilio Regni noſtri (Divinâ favente clementiâ) contigerit ordinari. Teſte Meipſo, &c.*

reſt of the Prelates, Great men and Nobles of Our ſaid Kingdom of *England*: Therefore We, by the Fidelity and Love (*if the Writ be ſent to the Biſhops*) by the Fidelity and Allegiance, (*if to any of the Peers*) which you owe to Us, ſtreightly injoyning, command you, that in conſideration of the difficulty of the aforeſaid Affairs, and of the Dangers impending, laying aſide all Excuſes, at the day and place aforeſaid you perſonally appear to treat with Us, together with the reſt of the Prelates, Great men, and Nobles, concerning the Affairs aforeſaid, and thereupon give Us your counſel. And this you are not to omit, as you love Us, and Our Honour, and the Safety of Our ſaid Kingdom, and the expedition of the ſaid Affairs.

And if the Writ be directed to a Biſhop, it goes on further thus: And you are to forewarn the Dean and Chapter of your Church, and all the Clergy of your Dioceſs, that the ſaid Dean and the Archdeacons be perſonally preſent; and the ſaid Chapter by one, and the ſaid Clergy by two ſufficient Procurators, having full and ſufficient power from the ſaid

Chapter

Chapter and Clergy, at the day and place aforeſaid, to Conſent to thoſe things which then and there (by the favour of the divine Clemency) ſhall happen to be ordained by the Common Council of Our Kingdom. Witneſs my ſelf, *&c.*

Ad Communes, ſeu Inferioris Conſeſſus Senatores.

Aliud Reſcriptum ad Vicecomites & Prælides Civitatum, ſeu Municipiorum, conceptis hiſce verbis ità ſe habet: *Rex Vicecomiti ſalutem. Quia de adviſamento & aſſenſu Concilii noſtri,* &c. (progreditur ut ſuperius) *& ibidem cum Prælatis, Magnatibus & Proceribus Regni noſtri Colloquium habere & tractatum; Tibi præcipimus firmiter injungentes, quòd factâ Proclamatione in Comitatu tuo, poſt receptionem hujus Brevis noſtri, Parliamenti tenendi die & loco prædictis, duos Milites gladiis cinctos, magis idoneos & diſcretos Comitatûs prædicti, & de qualibet Civitate Comitatûs illius duos Cives, & de quolibet Burgo duos Burgenſes de diſcretioribus & magis ſufficientibus, liberè & indifferenter per illos qui Electioni hujus interfuerint, juxta formam Statutorum inde editorum &*

To the Members of the Houſe of Commons.

Another Writ directed to the Sheriffs and Chief Magiſtrates of Cities and Corporations, runs thus: The King to the Sheriff greeting. Whereas by the Advice and Aſſent of Our Council, *&c. (as before)* then and there to hold a Colloquy and Treaty with Our Prelates, Great men, and Nobles of Our Kingdom, *&c.* We command and ſtreightly injoyn you that a Proc'amation being made in your County *(Court)* after the receipt of this Our Writ, concerning Our Parliament to be holden at the day and place aforeſaid; you do cauſe two Knights of the moſt fitting and diſcreet of your County aforeſaid, and of every City in the ſaid County two Citizens, and of every Burrow *(or Corporation)* two Burgeſſes of the moſt diſcreet and ſufficient, to be freely

proviſorum, eligi, & nomina eorundem Militum, Civium & Burgenſium in quibuſdam Indenturis inter te & illos qui hujuſmodi Electioni interfuerint conficiendis, ſive hujuſmodi electi præſentes fuerint ſive abſentes, inſeri, eáſque ad dictum diem & locum venire facies: Ità quòd iidem Milites plenam & ſufficientem poteſtatem pro ſe & Communitate prædicti Comitatûs, ac dicti Cives & Burgenſes pro ſe & Communitatibus Civitatum & Burgorum prædictorum diviſim ab ipſis habeant, ad faciendum & conſentiendum his quæ tum ibidem de communi Concilio Regni noſtri (favente Deo) contigerit ordinari ſuper negotiis antè dictis, ità nè pro defectu poteſtatis hujuſmodi, ſeu propter improvidam Electionem Militum, Civium aut Burgenſium prædictorum, prædicta negotia infecta maneant quovis modo. Nolumus tamen quòd tu nec aliquis alius Vicecomes dicti Regni noſtri aliqualiter ſit electus.

freely and indifferently choſen, according to the form of the Statutes in that caſe made and provided, by thoſe who ſhall be then preſent at the ſaid Election; and you are alſo to inſert the names of the ſaid Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes (whether the perſons ſo elected be preſent or abſent) in certain Indentures to be made betwixt you and thoſe who ſhall be preſent at the ſaid Election, and you ſhall cauſe them to appear at the day and place aforeſaid: ſo as the ſaid Knights have full and ſufficient power for themſelves and the Community of the aforeſaid County, and the ſaid Citizens and Burgeſſes for themſelves and the Communities of the ſaid Cities and Corporations, ſeverally to do and conſent to thoſe things which (by the favour of God) ſhall by the Common Council of Our Kingdom be ordained concerning the Affairs aforeſaid; ſo that by the want of ſuch Power, or by the improvident Election of the Knights, Citizens, or Burgeſſes aforeſaid, the Affairs aforeſaid be not in any way left unfiniſhed (*undiſpatched*). Yet We will not that you or any other Sheriff of Our ſaid Kingdom be by any means elected. Theſe

The manner of meeting.

These things being punctually performed according to exactness of Law, the *Members* in a solemn and splendid Procession, such as may imprint an Awe and Reverence in the minds of the People, go first to Church, and then to the Parliament-house. And at that time the *King* coming into the House of Lords, and having called up the Members of the House of Commons, either speaks to them himself, or causes the Lord Chancellor to declare to them the weighty causes of their meeting, and what it is he would have them consult and deliberate about for the Publick Good.

The King declares the causes of their meeting in the Upper House.

The King is not obliged afterward, unless he please, to be present at their Consultations, except at the end of a Session, that he may give the strength and vigour of a Law to their Bills.

The *Knights* and *Burgesses* of the Lower House have severally the Oath of Allegiance administred unto them by one appointed for that effect by the *King*; which amongst other things, contains this clause: *I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their Persons, their Crown, and Dignity; and make known unto his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons and traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know and hear of to be against him or any of them*, &c.

All and every one of the Members of the House of Commons take the Oath of Allegiance to the King.

But lest any one being advanced to the high Honour and Dignity of consulting with the King, and sharing in some part of the Government, should forget that he is still a Subject; the better to keep him within the bounds of duty, he is to take another Oath of Supremacy in these words: *I A. B. do utterly testifie and declare in my Conscience, That the Kings Highness is the onely Supreme Governour of this Realm,*

And of Supremacy.

Realm, and of all other his Highneſs's Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical things or cauſes, as Temporal: and that no foreign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual within this Realm. And therefore I do utterly renounce and forſake all foreign Juriſdictions, Powers, Superiorities, and Authorities; and do promiſe from henceforth I ſhall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Highneſs, his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors; and to my power ſhall aſſiſt and defend all Juriſdictions, Priviledges, Pre-eminences, and Authorities granted or belonging to the Kings Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors, or united or annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and by the contents of this Book.

They chuſe a Speaker, whom they accompany to the King, beſeeching his Majeſty to approve their Election.

Being thus obliged to their duty upon their entry into this auſpicious Honour by the Votes of the Lower Houſe (according to the Kings deſignation or nomination) a Speaker is choſen, whom they accompany to the King, beſeeching his Majeſty to approve their election; which the King readily grants. This being done, the Speaker in the name of himſelf and of all the Commons, thanks the King, and begs of his Majeſty that they may enjoy their Priviledges, and have the freedom of debating; and that if any one in the heat of diſcourſe ſhould ſpeak too warmly, his Majeſty would not take it ill, nor be offended; and that they may have free acceſs to his Majeſty and the Upper Houſe ſo often as occaſion ſhall require. Which being granted, they are diſmiſſed.

And not to be offended with their freedom in ſpeech.

☞ *All may petition, but by the mediation of Deputies.*

All men heretofore were admitted to petition this Auguſt Aſſembly, provided their Petitions were preferred within ſix days after the opening of the Parliament, and by the hands of ſome appointed by

the

the Upper Houſe; it belonging to them to judge what were fitting to be preſented in Parliament, and to reject ſuch as were trivial or ſeditious.

The way of debating and communicating opinions betwixt both Houſes.

Each Houſe has power to conſult, debate, and form Bills about the matters propoſed by the King, or concerning the making or abrogating of Laws; ſo that what is agreed upon in the one Houſe, is by Meſſengers to be ſent to the other: and if both concur in judgment after the matter hath been debated, the Aſſent is marked over the head of the Bill (if it be in the *Lords* Houſe) in this form of words: *Les Seigneurs ont aſſentes*; The *Lords* have conſented. And in the Houſe of Commons, thus: *Les Communes ont aſſentes*; The Commons have conſented.

But if they diſagree, many times both Houſes, or Committees choſen by them, meet in conference in a convenient place, which is called the *Painted Chamber*; where the Lords covered and ſitting, in ſolemn manner receive the Commons ſtanding uncovered, and both argue the matter in debate. If in ſuch Conferences opinions diſagree (as it happens ſometimes) the thing is laid aſide; but if they concurr, the Bill is carried to the King: which if he approve of, it is written upon, *Le Roy le veut*, *The King wills it*; whereby, as by a Soul infuſed into the body, it receives life, and paſſes into a perfect Law, to be afterwards promulgated to the people: If on the contrary the King approve not the Bills brought to him, he uſes to write over head, *Le Roy s'aviſera*, *The King will conſider of it*: ſometimes he utterly rejects them, and then they are wholly laid aſide.

By the Kings conſent the Bills are made Laws;

Or otherwiſe rejected.

But matters of Religion (which require the Kings more eſpecial care) are not ſo intirely committed by him to the Parliament, but to the Convocation of the Clergy to be handled; unleſs for the

Religious matters are committed by the King to the Clergy.

ſanction of Parliament to give them the authority of a Law, which otherwiſe they could not ſufficiently have. The *Deans*, Archdeacons, two *Prebendaries* commiſſionated by the ſeveral Chapters, and as many Prieſts out of every *Dioceſs*, meet in an appointed place to conſult about affairs of that nature; where having firſt choſen a Prolocutor, they ſettle points of Religion, Ceremonies, and other matters belonging to the Church, and the impoſition of Subſidies alſo, in name of the Clergy: yet in theſe latter times their Acts bind not the People, until (as we ſaid before) they be paſſed into a Law by the King, with conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. And ſo cautious have our *Kings* been that Laymen ſhould not meddle in ſuch affairs, that, as it is recorded in Hiſtory, Queen *Elizabeth* ſeverely checked the Parliament for having appointed a Faſt without asking her leave; nor would ſhe be ſatisfied, till they begg'd her Majeſties pardon for it.

Which by the Deans, Archdeacons, and Deputies of the Clergy, are holden in the Convocation.

Their Acts bind not the People, without the conſent of the King and Parliament.

That we may return to the Authority of *Parliament*, each Houſe hath its ſeveral and diſtinct Priviledges. The Houſe of Lords not onely concurs in Council and making of Laws, but hath alſo power of *Judicature* and giving Judgment, and ſo of adminiſtring an Oath, eſpecially in weightier Cauſes, as in the corruption of Judges and Magiſtrates, and in higheſt Appeals: which yet, the Lawyers ſay, cannot lawfully be brought to a tryal, without the conſent and warrant of the King; and is never done, unleſs the Judges of the Law do aſſiſt.

The Rights & Priviledges of the Upper Houſe.

The Houſe of Commons claims to it ſelf the priviledge of petitioning and propoſing Laws, or of proſecuting, but never of judging, unleſs within its own walls, *and over the Members of their own Houſe*, nor that neither beyond a Fine and Impriſonment. By ancient cuſtom that Houſe was ſo far from pronouncing any Sentence (much leſs in caſes of Life and

Of the Lower.

and Death) in the name of the People, againſt the meaneſt Servant in *England*, that it never took to it ſelf the power of adminiſtring an Oath. It is alſo extant in the *Rolls*, to this purpoſe: *Upon the humble ſupplication of the Houſe of Commons, that whereas all Parliamentary Judgment belongs to the King and the Peers, and not to the Commons, unleſs by a Grant and Permiſſion from the King, it would pleaſe the Kings Majeſty that they be not, contrary to cuſtom, obliged to give Judgment; whereupon the King for the future excuſed them from that trouble, reſerving the Parliamentary power of Judging for the time to come to the King and Houſe of Lords onely, (ſave onely in making Laws, or impoſing Taxes and Subſidies) unleſs when it ſhall otherwiſe ſeem fit to the Kings Majeſty to require their particular counſel and aſſent for diſpatching the publick Affairs of the Nation.*

Nay, it was of old the cuſtom alſo, that if any Controverſie or Doubt aroſe about the validity of the Election of the Members of the *Houſe of Commons*, the matter was not determined by the other Members of the ſame Houſe, but either by the Lords in the Upper Houſe, or by the Judges in Chancery. And if any of them alſo departed from the Parliament without leave from the *King* and both Houſes, he was brought before the *Kings Privy-Council* or *Kings-Bench*, to receive ſentence for his faults; but he was never puniſhed at the will and pleaſure of his own Houſe.

This alſo is peculiar to the *Houſe of Commons*, (that we may again return to their Priviledges) that it belongs to them firſt to debate and form the Bill for raiſing Money from the People.

Such therefore is the wonderful temper of our *Monarchy*, that the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* have their ſeveral parts in the publick adminiſtration of Affairs; yet with that harmonious proportion, that

All

All can help, but none of them hurt the *Publick*. For the Prerogative of the King that gives him the ſupreme power of Government, and of Peace and War, tends to this, that he may have ſtrength enough to defend the Laws againſt the Factions of the Nobility, and the Tumults and Inſurrections of the people: whilſt the Nobles, by the high Authority they have in giving Judgment and making Laws, can on the one hand put a ſtop to tyrannical attempts, if any ſhould be offered by the King; and on the other, curb the inſolence of a tumultuous and ſeditious common People. Nor are the *Commons*, through the priviledge they have of accuſing any man, and giving or denying Money, unprovided of means of reſtraining the licentiouſneſs of the Lords and Privy-Counſellors, and of preventing the arbitrarineſs of the *Prince*.

The providence of the Law that the Members might debate freely and without fear.

The Laws are very careful that the liberty of Debating and Voting be not obſtructed through fear and the inſolence of wicked men; for it is enjoyned under ſevere penalties, that no Member of Parliament come to the Houſe with hidden or open Arms, nor that any other perſon armed with a Sword or any other Weapon, preſume to walk in the *Palace-yard* or near the *Houſe*, thereby to give cauſe of terrour and apprehenſion, or to leſſen the reverence of the place. Yea, it hath been the cuſtom, that the Members of *Parliament* and their menial Servants, ſhould during the ſitting of Parliament, be protected from arreſts for debt, or other ſlight crimes; but the Priviledge of Parliament excuſes no man that is guilty of *Treaſon*, *Felony*, or *Breach of the Peace*, from the ordinary proſecution of Law. Yet if by the miſtake either of the Magiſtrate or Officer, any Parliament-man or their Servants happen to be arreſted, they cannot be ſet at liberty according to Law, but by a Writ (aſſigning the cauſe) directed out of the Chancery.

So

So much heretofore did both Houſes contain themſelves within the bounds of modeſty, that if any one inconſiderately offended againſt the received cuſtoms, or ſpake any way irreverently of the King, he was ſeverely puniſhed for the fault, and that at the ſuit and inſtance of the Houſe of which he was a Member.

The modeſty of the Parliament.

The Kings alſo did very ſeldom, unleſs it were for weighty cauſes, act any thing that might give offence to ſo Auguſt an Aſſembly: Yet ſometimes, upon high provocations, ſome of our mildeſt *Princes* have ſeverely rebuked the whole Parliament, and cauſed ſome Members to be brought to the Bar to anſwer for their offences; and have puniſhed others by Fine, Impriſonment, or Death, according to the nature of their crimes.

What honour Kings were wont to ſhew the Parliament.

But when occaſion required, reduced them into order.

Theſe were the old cuſtoms, and thoſe the men that made *England* for many Ages paſt to flouriſh, being happy at home, and renowned abroad; until too much happineſs (as often happens in humane affairs) with Luxury and all ſorts of Vice, brought in amongſt us Pride, Ambition, and the contempt of the Laws both of God and man; ſo that with mutual emulation and envy men began to covet and invade the Rights of one another, to deſpiſe and ſet at nought, rather than to reverence and obey the *King*, *Religion*, and *Laws*, and to gape after Novelties, rather than to acquieſce in what was moſt excellently eſtabliſhed.

The happineſs of the Kingdom under this Government.

Of late, ſome perverſe men (and they at firſt but a few) who had ſcrewed themſelves into the Lower Houſe, being deſirous of changes, and crafty Promoters of publick Debates, began to clamour about the Rights and Liberties of the *People*, and Power of Parliaments, to arrogate to themſelves unheard-of Priviledges, to be very buſie where they were no ways concerned, take upon them what they were

VVhat were the beginnings of the Troubles raiſed by ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons.

not capable of effecting, and at length breaking out into inſolent Expreſſions and Invectives againſt the the *Kings* power, calling into queſtion the *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, which the Kings of *England* in all times enjoyed, and forbidding them to be payed to the King; nay, and to offer violence to their Speaker within the very walls of the Houſe; and in a word, to ſhake off their ancient modeſty, all reverence which they ought to bear to the Majeſty of their *King*, and to trample under foot the ſacred Cuſtoms of the *Kingdom* and Priviledges of *Parliament*.

Hence mutual Jealouſies betwixt the King and Parliament.

Hence aroſe mutual Heart-burnings and Jealouſies, that *the King deſigned to invade the Liberties of the Parliament*, and *the Parliament to encroach upon the Prerogative of the Crown*. For this reaſon the *King* put an end to ſeveral *Parliaments* much ſooner than many deſired, (but not without precedents in former times) and checked the raſhneſs of ſome by impriſonment. Being ſome time afterward ſollicited, he refuſed to call new Parliaments, that ſo the Heats and Animoſities might be allayed, and that they might learn for the future to bring along with them Modeſty and greater Gravity to ſo great a Council.

And then the diſſolution of Parliaments.

This gave occaſion of ſtirring the people up againſt the King.

But that gave occaſion to crafty and reſtleſs men of ſpreading their poyſon all over *England*; ſo that every where they gave it out, *That Religion was ruined, the publick Liberty oppreſt, and the Laws in danger of being ſubverted*; hoping that it would be no difficult matter to perſwade credulous people of this, who were greedy of Novelties, and prone to liſten to Calumnies and Slanders, eſpecially of the great men. They reproached the King with bitter Railings, calling him uxorious, imprudent, addicted to the Popiſh Religion, covetous, and what elſe they knew to be infamous and hateful to the People. They cenſured the beſt of his actions, and ſtrained them

them to the worſt ſence. They wonderfully aggravated his Misfortunes and Failings, and were more injurious than *ill fortune*, her ſelf in their horrid conſtructions.

Amongſt ſo many Complaints and Outcries, if you demand what real calamity happened, *Britain* was never in a more flouriſhing condition; ſtately Buildings both publick and private every where reared, not onely for conveniency, but even for Oſtentation and Luxury; Trade increaſing dayly both in compaſs and profit, had already enlarged it ſelf to both the *Indies*; onely unhappy in this, that with the Wealth of Strangers, foreign Vices were alſo imported: Arts of all ſorts never look'd gayer in Colledges, Courts, and Shops; nor were the wealthy Inhabitants ever prouder; Juſtice was adminiſtred according to Law; nor was any man deprived of Life or Goods, but by the lawful Verdict of a Jury of his Country-men, to whom theſe things ought to be of higheſt value: all the parts of Government were ſo adminiſtred, that they ſeemed to conſpire together for the publick good; ſave onely in this, that they could not repreſs the inſolency and wantonneſs that ſprung from ſo great proſperity; and (which is not to be diſſembled) being long unaccuſtomed to War, we had been unfortunate in ſome foreign expeditions; and the people were incenſed at ſome impoſitions at home, which though very moderate, and countenanced by publick neceſſity and good reaſon in Law, yet gave occaſion to the people to pretend that the *Right* and *Property* of the Subject was oppreſt, and to outcries of Injuſtice; and alſo the impriſonment and lopping off the ears of four or five ſeditious perſons, ſentenced by the Judges of the Star-Chamber, ſeemed to be puniſhments too ſevere for thoſe halcyon days of Peace and Tranquillity. To this may be added,

And yet the Kingdom in a moſt flouriſhing condition.

Though unfortunate in war abroad, and ſome Taxes impoſed at home.

Some ſeditious perſons are puniſhed.

that the Jurisdiction and Censures of *Spiritual Courts* wrought pity in some, and indignation in others. Besides, the muster of Malecontents was made greater by some scrupulous *Puritans* who interpreted the enjoyning of Ceremonies and things indifferent in the Worship of God, in the Canons of the *Church*, to be the Fore-runners of Popery.

New Ceremonies startle the Puritans.

We may also take along with us the Zeal of the *Archbishop* in exempting the *Clergie* from the Suits and Injuries of *Laicks*, and preferring them to civil employments; which drew a great deal of envy and ill will not onely upon himself, but upon all the Church-men also: as also his endeavouring to bring into the Church of *Scotland* the use of the Service-book of *England*; which, though his designe was laudable, that these three neighbouring Nations, being under the government of one and the same *King*, might also be joyned in an uniform manner of Worship, was yet unseasonable and ill timed, as we shall a little more fully relate.

The Archbishop endeavouring to impose the Liturgy of England *upon the* Scots, *offends them.*

Matters in *Scotland* were then ripe for a Rebellion: for many took it ill that the King denied them the Honours and Titles to which they aspired; others were vexed that they were forced to part with some portion of the Tythes (though but moderate) which they had, upon the dissolution of the Monasteries, in the minority of *King James*, obtained from the Crown, for making a competent Stipend for Ministers, who then served the Cures at what easie rates the Patrons were pleased to allow them; but most could not digest, that the absolute Authority which they had for a long time usurped over their Vassals and Tenants, should be taken from them and annexed to the Crown.

Upon which pretext, but for other causes, they grow turbulent.

These chusing rather to shake the State than quit their *hold*; *those* again, rather to get Titles of Honour by the seditious Acclamations of the *Mobile*, than

than to want them, took occaſion of the *Liturgie* and *Ceremonies*, to buz the people in the ear that the reformed Religion was to be overturned to make way for Popery; ſo that having taken up Arms and born down all that were of a contrary opinion, they new model Church and State according to their own humour.

They take Arms; alter the Government both in Church and State.

The *King* reſolving to reduce thoſe by Arms, whom he could not reclaim by the milder cauſes of admonition, being accompanied by the Flower of the Youth, and Nobility of *England*, who voluntarily, and at their own charge, ſet out upon the expedition, marches to the borders; but having by clemency and conceſſions brought them over to obedience, which he preferred before Hoſtility and Arms, he condeſcended to Articles of Peace, and disbanded his Army.

The King marches againſt them;

And upon Articles makes Peace with them.

The *Scots* afterward inſiſting upon Articles different from thoſe that were agreed upon, occaſion new Broils and Diſſenſions; which when neither *Commiſſioners*, *Meſſengers*, nor mutual *Letters* could compoſe, both ſides prepare afreſh for a new War.

The Scots *innovating the Articles, cauſe a new War.*

On the *Kings* ſide the *Earl of Strafford*, then *Deputy* of *Ireland*, raiſed an Army of eight thouſand men with the aſſiſtance of the Parliament of *Ireland*, being to be paid by them; and being come over again into *England*, beſtirs himſelf in raiſing another Army here.

A Parliament is called: wherein a certain *Courtier* making bad uſe of his inſtructions, did (purpoſely, as moſt believed, that he might confound affairs, and increaſe Animoſities betwixt the *King* and Parliament) ſomewhat haughtily demand twelve Subſidies, when the Houſe of Commons had offered ſix, in lieu of the Ship-money: and this raiſed new diſcontents and grievances; for putting a ſtop to which in thoſe troubleſome times, the *Parliament*

A Parliament is called in England,

And diſſolved.

was sooner dissolved than many could have wished.

The Scots making a secret Combination with the Factious, invade England.

In the mean time the *Scots*, whose Forces were not so dispersed, but that they might be speedily drawn together into a body, nicking the opportunity, and by Agents entring into a Combination with the *factious* of *England*, under pretext of petitioning the *King*, came in a hostile manner into *England*; and having beat some Troops that guarded the passage of the River *Tine*, put all into fear and consternation, took *Newcastle* and other Towns unprovided for defence, and fortified them.

Having made a Truce, the Judgment of the Parliament is expected.

And though *Strafford*, with the new-raised Army under his command, had undertaken to drive them out of the *Kingdom*; yet the *most merciful King* chose rather to refer the matter to a *Parliament*, than without publick consent to pollute the Kingdom with bloud and slaughter. A Truce was therefore made, whereby the *Scots* were allowed a free Trade and Commerce, with liberty to raise Contributions in the Counties where they lay; and so a *Parliament* was called, by whose prudence and Loyalty it was hoped all roots and *Fibres* of Animosities might be extirpated.

The Parliament meets. The Factious in it.

The *Parliament* being met, the *Factious* who in great numbers had got into the House of *Commons*, trusting now to the Patronage of the *Scots*, and the Disorders of the times, set about their business manfully; they represent Grievances both publick and private, accuse *Courtiers* and *Magistrates*, and dart obliquely reproaches against the *King* himself, exaggerating all with the highest strains of their Rhetorick. Under pretext of reforming these Abuses, they labour to overturn both Church and State, and, in imitation of the *Scots*, to new-model the Government; and that by these steps: If, in the first place, they could deprive the King of the Counsels and Assistance of his most faithful Subjects,

Who under pretext of reforming Grievances, endeavour to new-model the Government both in Church and State And by what steps.

jects, and by loading him with Reproaches and false Crimes, render him odious to the People, and strip him of all Power and Authority, they would next screw themselves into publick Offices and the power of the *Militia*; and then with absolute dominion give Laws both to the King and People.

Many are accused; the E. of Strafford, *and Arshb. of* Canterbury.

The *Earl of Strafford* and *Archbishop of Canterbury* are accused of High-Treason, both the *English* and *Scots* impeaching them. Against *Strafford*, also out of *Ireland* (where the greatest matter of accusation was to be pickt up) both Witnesses and Accusers are brought. For whilst he was *Deputy* of *Ireland*, he had by some severities (which though perhaps they could not stand the test of the punctilio's and niceties of Law, yet were necessary for the publick) raised the indignation of the Inhabitants; in that he endeavoured to reclaim the native *Irish* from their wonted Barbarity, to Industry, Civility, and better Manners, and to enure them to the Customs and Practices of the *English*. Whence in a short time he had been so successful in this, that having setled Trades, Husbandry, and Commerce amongst those lazy and stubborn people, they began to flourish more than in all Ages before, and to bring money into the Exchequer of *England*, which by Rebellions they had so often exhausted before. From amongst these, though they were Roman Catholicks, and sworn enemies to the *English* Government, and even then plotting a Conspiracy against it, Accusers in name of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and Witnesses were sent for, who being prone enough of themselves to the work, that they might the more securely attempt the Rebellion which then they hatched in their minds, (the wise *Deputy* being taken off) were by all civilities and kind offices caressed by the *Factious*, that by accumulated crimes they might overwhelm *Strafford*. The Lord Keeper

The L. Keeper, Judges, *Finch* was alſo accuſed, and all the *Judges*, who being ſworn, had after long deliberation, declared in favour of the King, as to the lawfulneſs of *Ship-money*: Twelve Biſhops alſo, who by the riotous Rabble having been barred from coming into the *Houſe of Lords*, proteſted againſt all Laws that ſhould be made as invalid, until all that were concerned in the Council of the *Kingdom* might ſafely be preſent. Others withdrew, to avoid the impendent ſtorm.

And twelve Biſhops.

The terrified Judges are freely diſcharged.

The Judges ſcared with this Parliamentary Thunderclap, and taught to obey their Lords and Maſters, are at laſt all freely diſcharged; and ſome of them continued in their places, or promoted to higher. The Biſhops having loſt their power of voting in the *Lords Houſe* by a Law made in their abſence, being likewiſe ſet at liberty, *Canterbury* is reſerved for a future Sacrifice. All the Storm, at preſent, fell upon the head of the Earl of *Strafford*, whoſe Tragedy, ſince it lay heavy upon the *King* during his whole life, and at his death, and that he by the Rebels was reckoned the moſt guilty, I ſhall more fully relate, that by the inſtance of one, judgment may be made of the reſt, what kind of men they were who were ſo hated by the *Parliament*.

The Biſhops alſo being deprived of the right of voting in the Houſe of Lords.

Strafford *is brought to his tryal before the Houſe of Lords the* King *overbearing.*

With great pomp he is accuſed by the *Commons* of twenty eight Articles of High *Treaſon* before the Houſe of Lords; all the *Commons* were preſent, of whom ſix of the moſt violent were his Proſecutors or Managers of the Tryal; the *King* alſo, Queen and Prince being there privately behind the Curtain. The weight of his Impeachment lay in this: *That in* Ireland *he had acted many things arbitrarily contrary to Law: That in time of Peace he had raiſed Money of the Inhabitants againſt their wills by Military Exactions: That he had adviſed the King to force the Subjects of* England *to obedience by foreign Arms, and to make War againſt* Scotland.

The

The Tryal lasted many days; during which, the *Earl* with great presence of mind and judgment defending himself, so refuted the Arguments of his Prosecutors, that amongst so many Articles there was not one (even in the judgment of his enemies) that could amount to *Treason*, nor could all put together be constructed an acumulative Treason; which inraged the *House of Commons* so far, that having no colour of Law to take his life, they make a new Law *ex post facto*, whereby he is made guilty of *High-Treason*, with a clause therein, *That it should not be made a Precedent in other Courts.*

The Earl in his defence clears himself of the Accusation.

The House of Commons *make a new Law, whereby they make him guilty of Treason.*

But this past not without great debate and opposition, many speaking and arguing to the contrary, and fifty nine of the chief Members of the House dissenting; whose names were posted up in publick places, that being exposed to the view and fury of the *Mobile*, they might learn to vote with the *Factious* for the future, if they had not rather be torn in pieces alive.

Not without opposition, many dissenting.

This Bill was in two days time past and engrossed in the *House of Commons*, and carried up to the Lords for their consent; but a matter of such moment was more seriously deliberated about there. The *Factious* impatient of this delay, stir up the Rabble and Dregs of the People, who armed with Staves and Clubs, and what Weapons Rage put into their hands, came rushing to the Parliament-house, roaring out, *Justice, Justice*; and growing dayly more and more insolent, morning and evening persisted in their riotous Clamours.

The Lords deliberating more seriously.

The Rabble beset the House,

These Blades besetting the *House of Lords*, lay hands upon what *Lords* and *Bishops* they please, and tossing them to and fro, hinder them from entering, and threaten them worse if they obstinately refused to comply with the *Commons*. Next, they break in into *Westminster-Abbey*, pull down the Organs,

And hinder the Lords and Bishops from entering it; then they break into Westminster-*Abbey.*

And afterward run in tumult to White-hall. And anſwer the K. ſawcily.

gans, rob the Veſtments and ſacred Furniture of the Church; and then with furious clamours run to *White-hall* the Kings own houſe.

Nay, they proceeded to that impudence, as to dare to affront the King by ſawcy and inſolent Anſwers, when his Majeſty from a Balcony told them as they paſſed by *White-hall*, that they ſhould keep at home and mind their buſineſs.

Whilſt the Juſtices of Peace repreſs the Tumults, they are impriſoned by the factious Houſe.

Whilſt ſome of the *Juſtices of Peace*, according to their Oath and duty, impriſon thoſe of that Rabble whom they could catch, to be kept there for condign puniſhment; they themſelves are clapt up by the factious *Houſe of Commons*; *pretending that it was free for all to come and petition the Parliament*: though they had cauſed the Gates of *London* to be ſhut againſt the men of *Kent*, who came to petition the contrary, and frightened others who intended to have done the like. And when ſome diſcreet and good men had deſired the *Factious*, that they would at length lay the Devils whom they had raiſed, they made anſwer, *That they ought rather to thank their Friends.*

The factious Members of Parliament conſult with the Apprentices, and teach them the time and manner of tumultuating.

Nay, ſo far was the Parliamentary Dignity debaſed, that many times Members of the *Houſe of Commons* came to the Clubs of Apprentices, where they conſulted about, related and examined the affairs that paſt in Parliament, what was deſigned to be done, what parts they themſelves were to act, and when. Hence their Tumults became, by this kind of ſchooling, in a manner to be regular, being diſtributed into proper *Claſſes* and *Fraternities*, as of *Porters*, *Watermen*, *Taylors*, &c. who under pretext of petitioning, at the leaſt hint from their *Demagogues* flocked together into bodies. And that once for all, we may lay open the nature of this Sore, if any difficult knot occurred, which by other arts they could not unty, they preſently betook themſelves to this Sword to cut it.

By

By this means many being terrified, and thinking it safer to keep at home, and abstain from coming, with danger to the House, for that fault alone they were excluded by the prevailing Faction. Others who did appear, durst not for fear of their own lives, give their Votes freely for the publick Good: so that from that time forward all authority of Parliament seemed to be worn out of date, since the *Riff-raff* of the People challenged the right of voting in Parliament, and put a restraint upon the liberty of the rest.

Whereby the Members being frightned, forbear coming to the House, and are therefore excluded.

Whence the Authority of Parliament wears out of date.

But to return to *Strafford*: The *Lords* being overcome by these Arguments, *succumb*; and scarcely a third part of them being present, the Bill of the House of *Commons* past in the *Lords House*, by the plurality of seven voices.

The Lords *pass the Bill against the Earl of* Strafford.

The *King* is not so easily prevailed upon, though the riotous Rabble, hardly forbearing their hands, continually plagued him with Clamours and Threatnings; and the *Noblemen* and *Courtiers* that were about him, plied him incessantly with their Prayers and Remonstrances. Nor would he signe the Bill until the *Judges*, who durst not so much as mutter against the actions of the Parliament and People, satisfied him that he might do it in *Law*, and some Bishops in *Conscience*; and until the brave *Earl* had *by a Letter* perswaded and almost besought him to do it, like another *Curtius*, that he might fall a Sacrifice for the publick Peace, and the safety of the *Royal* Family.

The Kings consent is very hardly obtained,

Till the Judges pronounced it lawful, the Bishops removed his scruples,

And Stafford *advised him to it.*

The Sentence being past against the *Earl*, the the King immediately sent the *Prince* with Letters to the *Lords*, earnestly recommending it to them, that, at least, they would delay the execution for some time. But they having sent twelve of their number to wait upon his *Majesty*, perswade him that without great danger to himself and Family, it could not be done. The

The King by Letters desires the execution may be delayed

The Lords deny it.

Courtiers fearful of their condition, freely resigne their places.

The fall of so great a man from the very Pinacle of Honour, terrified the inferiour *Lords* who bore publick Offices. The Master of the Court of *Wards*, the Lord High *Treasurer*, who had with great integrity discharged that Office, and the *Princes* Governour, freely resigne their places; like some Creatures, who biting off the Prize of the chace, escape the fury of the Huntsmen.

The Sheriffs & Justices of the Peace comply with the times In that thing alone the King withstood the will of the Parliament: In the rest he left himself in a manner at their discretion.

The *Sheriffs* and *Justices of the Peace*, who were formerly in Office, comply with the times, and worship the rising Sun.

In this thing almost alone the King abandoned not himself wholly to the will of the *Parliament*: for afterwards he granted them every thing that they themselves were not ashamed to ask.

He suffers the Jurisdiction of the Court of Stannaries, of the Court of the President of Wales, to be lessened.

The Jurisdiction of the *Kings honourable Privy-Council*; that of the Court of *Stannaries*, wherein by Patent from the King, the *Lord Warden* decided all Controversies relating to the Labourers in the Mines, and the Officers concerned in that work; as also of the Court of the *President* and Council of *Wales* established in the marches betwixt *England* & *Wales*, wherein, as in *Chancery*, Law-suits amongst the Inhabitants, were by the Kings Substitute determined according to the Rules of Equity, were stinted and limited by narrower bounds.

The extent of the Forests also be abridged.

The extent also of the Kings *Forests* and *Chaces* was abridged into a narrower compass.

The Court of the Star-Chamber,

The *Star-Chamber*, wherein the *Chancellor of the Kingdom* being President, greater Crimes, which were not at all, or not sufficiently provided against by any particular positive Law, were tried and punished; such as *Sedition*, *Conspiracy*, *Faction*, *Scandalum Magnatum*, &c. and those also who by cunning or power eluded the force of the Law, was wholly abrogated.

And of the High Commission, to be abrogated.

The *Court of High Commission*, wherein the Archbishop presiding, some *Nobles* and *the learned in the Law*,

Law, by the Kings authority, past sentence upon the more enormous Crimes that fell under Ecclesiastical censure, suffered the same fate also.

As also that of the Lord President and Council of the North.

The Court of the *Lord President and Council of the North* was abolished, which for a long time had administred Justice to that part of the Kingdom, and wherein *Seditions*, *Conspiracies*, and *Associations*, were by Royal authority suppress, and Law-suits about civil matters determined amongst those who wanted money to go, according to the Laws, for a tryal to *London*.

With all these the King readily parted, in prospect of the publick good, though they were shining Jewels in the Imperial Crown.

He allows Monopolies *to be rescinded.*

He suffered all *Monopolies* to be rescinded, leaving it fully to the Parliament to punish all those who in prosecution of them had acted any thing contrary to Law and Justice.

He yields up also his right of levying Souldiers, Ship-money, Tunnage and Poundage.

He renounced also his Right of *raising Souldiers*, and the *Ship-money*, (in lieu of which alone the former *Parliament* had offered him six hundred thousand pounds:) He also freely parted with *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, which none of the Kings his Predecessors, who without any interruption had enjoyed it past all prescription, would ever consent to.

Allows also a Triennial Parliament.

And that all Grievances might be timely remedied for the future, and that no *Great man* or *Magistrate* might infringe the lately-granted Concessions, or oppress the People, if he himself should omit to call a Parliament once in three years, he gave power to the *Chancellor* to issue out Writs for that effect; and the *Chancellor* failing, to the *Lords* and Sheriffs; and in fault of them, to the People to meet for Elections.

Lastly, at their desire he granted that which some magnified as a favour exceeding all former benefits;

and

And that the preſent Parliament ſhould not be diſſolved without the conſent of both Houſes.

and others complained of as a miſchief ſurpaſſing all future Grievances, to wit, *That they might have time to pay the publick Debts, and ſecure to Poſterity the Priviledges granted by his Majeſty*, he ſuffered a Law to paſs whereby the *Parliament* had leave to ſit until by conſent of both Houſes it ſhould be thought fit to diſſolve it; as if he would make amends for the many intervals of Parliaments, by the long continuance of one. Which, however others may interpret it, was an argument of his great candour and ſincerity towards his Subjects, or at leaſt a ſymptom of a mind not inclin'd to Violence and War.

Yet with theſe the Factious are not pleaſed

No man would think now but that the *Kings* Power was abundantly limited, and that the Property of the *Subject* and *Priviledges* of *Parliament* were ſufficiently enlarged. But alas! theſe *Harpies* are not ſatisfied; and one of them made anſwer to a Gentleman that put the queſtion to him, *What more has the King now to grant? That he may*, ſaid he, *lay aſide all Authority, and commit himſelf and the management of all Affairs to our care.*

But are thereby emboldened to raiſe Animoſities and Diviſions.

That the *Factious* might attain their ends, they ſuggeſt ſo many *Fears* and *Jealouſies* to the weaker and leſs diſcerning Members, that like the heads of *Hydra*, more Diviſions and Animoſities ſprung from the Kings grace and deſire of appeaſing them; and his Conceſſions ſo far from ſatisfying them, increaſed onely their thirſt, and made them inſolent in demanding more: as it uſually happens in popular Councils, where the people once infatuated with Jealouſies, ſome dance to the Pipes of others; *others*, that they may not appear ſhorter ſighted, or leſs publick ſpirited than the reſt, ſee Plots beyond the Moon, and look for joynts in a Bull-ruſh.

This amongſt others is chiefly to be obſerved, That the King having given ſecret orders to the Army then on foot (which at his own charge he had

had raiſed againſt the *Scots*, though after the *Truce* they were payed by the *Parliament*) to march to *London*, that he might more conveniently repreſs the Tumults and Inſolencies of the People; it was by the Factious charged upon him as a Crime. But though he might lawfully do it, yet they examined many Officers and Souldiers about the matter, and finding none privy to it, they made it their chief care, by laying all the blame at the Kings door, to incenſe the People more againſt him.

The Scots *are ſent home.*

Now the Parliament has leiſure, the Power being in their hands, to ſend the *Scots* home to their own Country; who having received a promiſe of three hundred thouſand pounds Engliſh to be paid within three years, and being loaded with Thanks, Pay, and Booty (of which they were not ſo free to the Engliſh Army) they departed; both the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Armies being at the ſame time disbanded. Nay, it was hotly diſputed which of the Armies ſhould firſt be diſmiſſed, this or that, till at length with much ado it paſt in Parliament, that both ſhould be disbanded together.

The Engliſh & Iriſh Armies are alſo disbanded.

The K. follows the Scots *into their Country.*

The King followed the *Scots* into *Scotland*, where having called a Parliament, and having granted and confirmed by Law whatever Avarice, Ambition, and Wantonneſs could deviſe, to his own loſs he reconciles all Parties, and for that time heals up all wounds of War and Diſſention. But the *Parliament* dogs the King with Commiſſioners as ſpies over all his actions, who under pretext of cementing a ſtricter Union with their Friends and *dear Brethren*, might break off their friendſhip to the King; and indeed by tales, whiſpers, and crafty inſinuations, they had very near ſpoiled all the Kings buſineſs at that time. The *Parliament* of *England* alſo during this ſpace, was by the Votes of both Houſes prorogued to a certain day.

The

And upon his return is feasted by the Londoners.

The *King* upon his return was received with applause in *London*, and with the *Queen* and *Royal* Issue magnificently feasted by the City; which the Parliamentarians and some others took ill, lest the *Kings Majesty* being elevated by those Congratulations of the Citizens, might think the people had received sufficient satisfaction, or that his own affairs were setled to advantage. And the King having sent for the *Lord Mayor* and chief Citizens to *Hampton-Court*, gave them in recompence a sumptuous and Princely Treat; which grated upon the *Factious*, who were resolved to mingle sorrows with their joys.

The Factious congratulate the Kings return by a defamatory Declaration.

After some days, they congratulate his return with a *Declaration*, or rather an infamous Libel. In it the *Parliamentarians* mustered up all the grievances of the State, or rather the murmurings of insolent and wanton men; aggravating with the utmost spight and malice, whatever had been committed by the *Courtiers*, *Courts*, *Magistrates*, or *Kings Officers*; what calamities or misfortunes had happened during his whole reign, yea, and those things also, which being reformed, ought justly to have been buried in silence; and at the same time cause it to be printed and published.

☞

This was forged during the *Kings* absence, being moved under other pretexts by the chief Sticklers of the House; and having been debated from three in the afternoon, all night long, until ten next morning, and many wise men in the mean time, through age and infirmity, and others (which is far worse) through fear and cowardise, withdrawing; it was at last with much ado approved by the plurality of eleven voices.

To which the King shortly answers.

The King finding fault that they had made it publick without expecting his Answer, a few days after published another Declaration in refutation of it.

This

This was in a manner the first Declaration of War. For though the King endeavoured a Cure by fomentations and mollifying Remedies, yet the Sore festered, and was not to be cured without Fire and Sword.

New Tumults for snatching the power of the Militia out of the K.'s hands.

The Rabble again broke out into Tumults, under colour of the *Ceremonies*, *Liturgie*, and *Church-government*. The *Factious* whisper that the power of the *Militia* must be taken out of the Kings hands, which they intended immediately to seize. By which it clearly appeared, that the boldness of the disaffected, and the ways of sedition, were rather encouraged than conquered by patience; and that the Troubles were no less raised by the *consent*, than by the *artifice* and *machination* of the *Factious*; the King having discovered some of them to have been accessary to the Scottish Invasion. That the *King* therefore might not always suffer things to go on, but obviate, and timely stifle the growing Rebellion in the bud; he accuses five *Commoners* and one of the *Peers* of *High-Treason*, and desires them to be brought to a fair tryal according to Law, before the Judges of the Kingdom.

The K. obviates the sedition, by accusing the Heads of it of Treason.

Whom the House of Commons takes into protection.

But the Faction growing now more powerful and numerous in the Parliament (many good men also being over sollicitous lest the Priviledges of Parliament might be in the least infringed) the *House of Commons*, which durst never before own the defence of any who were accused of Felony, Murder, or Treason, takes them into protection; and so far from complying with the King who undertook the prosecution himself, they rather accuse him as invading the Priviledges of Parliament, and will not suffer any Member to be brought to the Bar, or taken off by accusations from the care of the *Publick*, or that the Judges and Arbitrators of the Affairs of the *Kingdom*, should be disgraced by criminal Processes.

Wherefore the K. enters the Houſe of Commons in perſon,

The King being provoked at this, by the advice of ſome of his Privy-Council, who were themſelves Members of the Houſe, went to *Weſtminſter-hall*, attended with about an hundred *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* with their Servants, and commands that no body elſe be ſuffered to come up ſtairs, and that they ſhould not upon any provocation offer the leaſt affront to any man: Entering the Houſe of Commons, accompanied onely by the *Prince Palatine of the Rhyne*, he demands the *Incendiaries* to be delivered up to him, and promiſes to proceed againſt them according to the known Laws.

That he may demand them:

Who fled.

They being warned, as it was reported, by means of the *Earl* of *H.* and of a Lady who was now willing to ſet off her wit as formerly ſhe had done her beauty, the gifts of different Ages, amongſt the Parliament-men, had withdrawn themſelves. Wherefore the King having accuſed the *Abſcondents*, returned without any hurt or injury done to any man. But when he perceived that the Members were in a chaff, and highly diſpleaſed, he mildly remitted the Suit; and that he might ſoften the angry minds of the men, he retracted what he had done, and in a manner begg'd pardon for his fault.

The K. afterward deſiſted, and in a manner acknowledged his fault.

But the Factious take thence occaſion of ſlandering, and of raiſing jealouſies & ſtirs.

Nevertheleſs they who lay continually at the catch, to blow the Coals of *Jealouſies* and Offences, taking hold of this opportunity of inveighing againſt the King, ſet the minds of the ignorant agog, and ſcattered abroad in all places ſuch ſparks of Diviſion as were enough to put the whole Kingdom in a flame.

Buckinghamſhire & Eſſex *petition.*

The Rabble of the neighbouring Counties, to wit, of *Buckinghamſhire* and *Eſſex*, are egg'd on; that being armed in ſeveral bodies, they might come and petition, that their *Members* might have free liberty of voting, and that their Priviledges might be kept inviolate: Although the *Kentiſh*-men who

who came to supplicate on the other side, were denied liberty to enter the Gates of *London*; and others who were about to do the like, were restrained by threats and reproaches. So that by *polling* and in a manner mustering the people, they give the signal to War. *The accused Members* abscond in *London* until they might feel the pulses, and stir up the Citizens to draw out for their Guard, and conduct them to the House in arms and triumph. The King being advertised of this, though at that time by the care and contrivance of *Gurney* the then Lord Mayor, many valiant and loyal men offered themselves to mix with the Croud, and being scattered through the streets like Spectators, to oppose the *Army* if they attempted any thing against the King; yet his Majesty hoping that these storms might break and spend themselves by giving way to them, he with the *Queen* removed to *Windsor*-Castle.

The accused Members abscond in London, *and with a Guard of Citizens are conducted to the Parliament-house.*

The K. withdraws to Windsor-*Castle.*

But afterwards the Quarrel rising higher, having sent the *Queen* beyond Sea, under pretext of accompanying her eldest Daughter lately married to the *Prince of Orange*, over into *Holland*; but in reality that she might pass the Winter secure from the future storm, and having sent for the *Prince*, whom, as he was informed, the *Factious* did intend to seize by authority of *Parliament*, he moves towards *York*; but not before he wrote to the Parliament, giving them the reasons of his departure, perswading them by all means to Peace, and desiring them, *That whatever it was they so much desired that he would grant and do for them, they would set it down in writing; that without ambiguity they would state what the Parliament and People claimed; and what on the other hand was to be granted to the King: and he religiously protests that he would have the Rights of others no less to be inviolate than his own, and that he would*

Sends the Q. into Holland.

Sends for the Prince.

Moves towards York. *Having first sent pacificatory Letters to the Parliament.*

moſt willingly give his conſent to all things that might contribute to the reſtoring of Peace, and the juſt Rights of his Crown and Kingdom.

VVhich notwithſtanding the Houſe of Commons miſinterpret as contrary to the Priviledges of Parl. and pretend to be in great fear.

They not onely ſlight, but caluminate this goodneſs of ſo gracious a King, as if it were *contrary to the Priviledges of Parliament, to be informed what was fit to be done, and that their conſultations ſhould be interrupted by Letters.* It can hardly be expreſt how much the *Houſe of Commons* proud of the favour of the Multitude, pretended to be ſcared at theſe admonitions to Peace, as portending new dangers and ruine in diſguiſe.

Daring, alone, to demand the power of the Militia:

Hence laying hold of the opportunity, the *Houſe of Commons* being onely the third and loweſt Eſtate of the Kingdom, (the Lords being as yet averſe from ſo unjuſt a deſire) had the boldneſs to demand *that the power of all Caſtles and Forts, and of the Militia, ſhould be put into their hands.*

VVhich when they could not obtain, they ſtir up the Corporations to take up Arms of their own accord.

When they could not obtain this from the King, they move all the Towns and Corporations that ſided with them, that, as of their own accord, they ſhould make muſters, train up the Youth in Military Diſcipline, and divide them into Companies; which was afterward confirmed and approved in the *Houſe of Commons*, as done according to Law.

The Houſe of Commons paſs a Vote for ordering the Militia by Deputies; and

They paſs alſo a Vote in their own Houſe, that by Authority of *Parliament*, Deputies ſhould be named in each County, *To exerciſe, arm, draw out and muſter the Youth, and thoſe that were fit to carry Arms, that they might be ready upon the future Orders of Parliament, for ſuppreſſing Rebellions, reſiſting Invaſions*, &c.

having prevailed with the Lords, with joynt addreſs, they demand the Militia of

Having at length by their known Arts prevailed with the *Lords* to give their conſent, both *Houſes* joyn in an Addreſs to the *King*: *That it was a thing not onely expedient, but neceſſary to be done, as well for himſelf as for the State*; *pretending fears from* France,

Ger-

Germany, *and* Spain, *who then were all in Arms; and the intelligence they had from* Paris, Venice, *and* Rome, *that the reſtleſs Papiſts and ill men were plotting and contriving how they might overſet the Parliament of* England, *and the reformed Religion.*

the King, upon pretence of dangers.

The King, willing to grant any thing for Peace ſake, yields them a ſhare in the power of the *Militia* for a certain time, reſerving to himſelf the ſupreme Authority, whereby he might be able to maintain the Dignity of the Crown, and the Rights of Parliament: He approves alſo the *Deputies* appointed by them, (ſome *Londoners* excepted) and does pathetically exhort and adjure them, *That at length laying aſide vain fears and mutual jealouſies, they would calmly and ſeriouſly conſider by what means the troubled State, divided into ſeveral Factions, and torn almoſt into pieces by it ſelf, might be united again into one, and that ſince no former Prince had made greater Conceſſions to his Subjects, they would peaceably enjoy them.*

The K. allows a ſhare in the power of the Militia, *reſerving to himſelf the ſupreme Authority: he exhorts them to moderation and peace.*

But they ſlighting this Indulgence of the *King*, and his ſound Admonitions, impoſe upon the reſt with their bugbears of Fears and Jealouſies. They ordered ſtrict *Watch* to be kept in ſuſpected places, the *Beacons* to be watch'd, and prepare *Pilots*, as for a War.

But the Factious *ſlight theſe things, fill the reſt with idle fears, and by them ſtir up the People.*

The People are dayly ſtirred up with falſe Rumours ſpread amongſt the Multitude; On *Sundays* when they are in Church at their Devotion, they are put into panick fears, as if the *Papiſts* (who were to come no man knew whence) were ready to burn their houſes, and to *mingle their Bloud with their Prayers*; and by and by again, that their *throats were to be cut* by enemies lurking in the *Woods* and *Vaults* under ground. And many, though not the wiſeſt, of the *Londoners* were perſwaded that the River of *Thames* was to be blown up by Gun-

powder to drown the City in the night-time; *ſo ridiculous were the ſurmiſes that gave occaſion to moſt fatal changes.*

By theſe and ſuch-like tricks the *Populace* is frightened out of their ſenſes, and reſolved to do any thing to rid themſelves of theſe apprehenſions.

Fearing that the K. might poſſeſs himſelf of the Magazine of Hull.

Amongſt the other preparatifs to War (all the particulars whereof it is not our deſigne to trace) the cunninger ſort ſmelt a Plot; as if the *King* in his progreſs to the *North*, intended to ſeize the Town and well-provided Magazine of *Hull*, which might be of great conſequence in carrying on the War.

They ſend Sir John Hotham *to prevent it.*

That they might prevent this, the *Factious* of their own head, without any authority from both Houſes, give the government of the place to Sir *John Hotham*, which he inſtantly ſecured with a Gariſon and the aſſiſtance of ſome Towns-men.

Who ſhuts the Gates againſt the King,

So ſoon as the King had notice of this, he marched thither attended with his *Nobles* and Servants; but the Gates being ſhut, and Souldiers planted upon the Walls, he is denied entrance. The *King* being highly offended, commands the Governour to let him enter attended onely with twenty Gentlemen on horſeback; but he refuſing to let him in, unleſs alone, is proclaimed a Traytor: and the *King* by Letters to the Parliament complains, and demands reparation for the affront.

And is proclaimed Traitor.

He is juſtified by the Houſe of Commons.

But the *Houſe of Commons* approve Sir *John Hotham*'s *Fact*, and vote that the King had violated the Priviledges of Parliament, in proclaiming a *Member* of the Houſe guilty of Treaſon. Before he was heard in their *Houſe*, they give Orders to the Earl of *Warwick* to ſend ſome Souldiers from on board into the Town, and to tranſport the Magazine from thence to *London*. But Sir *John Hotham* repenting too late, when he perceived that theſe

Afterward repenting of what he had done, and

Sparks

Sparks had put the whole Country into a flame; having afterwards obtained pardon, and being about to deliver up the Town to the *King*, was taken, and payed to the *Parliament* what he owed to the *King*; both he and his Son being beheaded.

being about to deliver up the Town to the K. he is taken, & with his Son beheaded.

Amongſt theſe preludes to War, there is ſome mention and hopes of peace; for after ſome months the *Parliament* ſend an Anſwer to the *King*'s Propoſals which he made at *Windſor* upon his departure for the North, in nineteen Articles or Demands; of which, this is the ſum.

The Parl. ſends Propoſals of Peace to the King.

1. *That all the King's Privy-Council, great Officers, and Miniſters of State may be put out, excepting ſuch as the Parliament ſhall approve, and to aſſigne them an Oath.*

The Parl. Propoſitions to the King.

2. *That all affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except ſuch matters as are transferred by them to the Privy-Council, and to be concluded by the major part of the Nobility under their hands; the full number not to exceed* 25, *nor under* 15: *and if any place fall void in the interval of Parliament, then (the major part of the Council) to chuſe one to be confirmed at the next Seſſion of Parliament.*

3. *That all the great Officers of the Kingdom ſhall be choſen with approbation of Parliament*, &c. *as before ſaid.*

4. *The government and education of the King's Children, by Parliament*, &c. ut ſupra.

5. *Their Marriages to be treated and concluded by Parliament*, &c.

6. *The Laws againſt Papiſts, Prieſts, and others, be executed without Toleration or Diſpenſation, except by Parliament.*

7. *No Popiſh Lord or Peer to have vote in Parliament, and their children to be educated in the Proteſtant Faith.*

8. *To Reform Church-government as the Parliament ſhall adviſe.*

9. *To ſettle the Militia as the Parliament have ordered, and for the King to recal all his Declarations publiſhed againſt their Ordinances therein.*

10. *All Privy-Counſellers and Judges to take Oath for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes which ſhall be made this Parliament.*

11. *All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their places* quam diu bene ſe geſſerint.

12. *All Members of Parliament put out during this time, be reſtored again.*

13. *The Juſtice of Parliament to paſs upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their cenſure.*

14. *The general Pardon to paſs with Exceptions, as the Parliament ſhall adviſe.*

15. *All Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom to be diſpoſed of by Parliament*, ut ſupra.

16. *The King to diſcharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not to raiſe any other but in caſe of actual Rebellion.*

17. *The King to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with all Reformed States, for their aſſiſtance to recover the Rights of his Royal Siſter and her Princely Iſſue, to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them.*

18. *To clear the Lord* Kimbolton *and the five Members by Act of Parliament.*

19. *No Peer hereafter to be made ſhall ſit in Parliament without their conſent.*

And theſe Articles being confirmed, the Parliament engage to make him a happy Prince.

The King anſwers.

To theſe Commands rather than Articles of Peace, being ſuch as were more proper to move Indignation, than to gain an Aſſent; the King ſends an Anſwer by two noble and diſcreet Lords, the Marqueſs of *Hertford* and the Earl of *Southampton*, who were enjoyned to treat on more equal terms in the *Houſe of Lords*. But they not being admitted, the Treaty came to nothing.

The matter comes to nothing, as all future Treaties & Propoſitions

And

And becauſe in this place we have made mention of *Peace* and *Propoſals*, we are to take notice, that afterwards in the heat of the War, at the inſtance of the King, *Propoſitions* of *Peace* being mutually ſent, and Commiſſioners on both ſides twice meeting to treat about it, nothing could be effected, and moſtly by the Parliaments fault.

The Parl. propoſing moſt rigid Conditions.

For ſeeing they propoſed ſuch ſevere Conditions on their own parts, and which tended onely to their own advantages; and the King, on the other hand, ſuch juſt and equitable Terms, more favourable to the *Parliament* and *State*, than to himſelf and Family; the People began to be enraged and to fall off dayly from the Parliament.

The mediation of the K. of France, *the States of the* United Provinces, *and of the* Scots, *is rejected.*

The *King* of *France* alſo, (how ſincerely, I ſhall not judge) and the *States* of the *United Provinces* interpoſed for accommodating the differences; but were rejected by the Parliament: and the *Scots*, who likewiſe offered to mediate, were refuſed by the *King* as partial. But farewel, Peace; *Bellona* is now at the doors.

The Parl. ſeizes the Militia.

The People being in the diſpoſition we mentioned before, *Deputies* were ſent with Commiſſions into all the *Counties*; and the Parliamentarian Rebels by force and their own authority, invade the *Militia*, which they could not obtain from the *King* by petitioning.

The K. commands the contrary, citing Laws that are againſt it.

The King on the contrary commands them to deſiſt upon pain of *Treaſon*, citing the Act of the 25 *Edw.* 3. whereby, *To contrive the death of the King, Queen, or Prince, to violate the Queen or the Wife of the Prince, to take up Arms againſt the King, to aſſiſt the Kings enemies within or without the Kingdom, to counterfeit the great Seal or Kings Coyn*, are for the future declared to be Treaſon, having alſo alleadged other Acts, whereby it is declared, *That the power of the Militia and taking up of Arms, belongs onely to the King.*

But

They anſwer. But they make anſwer, That the *Letter* of the *Law* is for the King, but the *mind* of it for them: That it is not forbidden to take up Arms againſt the Kings *Perſon*, but againſt his *Authority*; which being in all Courts of Judicature, was moſt eminently in the Parliament.

And the K.'s Majeſty replies, To this the King replies, *That that diſtinction was condemned above three hundred years ſince, when the* Spencers *under that cover carrying on Sedition, were condemned to death by the Parliament. That beſides, the preſent Parliament was not free, but the better part of the Members being excluded, the reſt were ſlaves to the Faction.*

And oppoſes the Aggreſſors. Theſe courſes taking no effect, the King alſo ſends *Deputies* into all Counties, with authority from his Majeſty, to *array and arm the Subjects, and to have fit men in readineſs* (if neceſſity ſhould require) *for ſuppreſſing Rebellions and Seditions.* And from this we may date our Sorrows and Calamities: whilſt the *King* endeavouring to maintain his ancient *Rights*, and they again to invade them, War breaks out in the Kingdom.

But the Match was unequal, on what ſide ſoever the *Right* ſtood: The Parliament, ſuperiour in ſtrength, prevails, and in moſt *Counties* uſurps the Government; the *Royal* Cauſe being very weak, and in a few *Counties* ſtruggling for life: With no greater difficulty alſo the Fleet under the command of the Earl of *Warwick*, is divided; but all this ſtill without any fighting. There was much ſkirmiſhing, indeed on both ſides by Apologies and *Manifeſto's*; but after that the King, in the judgment of moſt men, had got the better on't at the *Pen*, at length they come to try the matter by Armies and the Sword.

They ſkirmiſh on both ſides in Apologies and Manifeſto's, wherein the K. has the better.

The Parl. levies an Army, It was eaſie for the Parliament to raiſe an Army in *London*, a City abounding with ſwarms of ſeditious

tious and reſtleſs men, where ſo many Arms, ſo great quantity of Proviſion and Ammunition, ſo much Money, and ſo many thouſand pieces of Ordnance were ready at hand. Where by the publick Declarations of ſo many ſpecious Cauſes, for which it might ſeem even honourable to die, and the plauſible *Motto's* in their Colours, they inflamed the minds of the deluded *Rabble* more than with the ſound of the Trumpet or Drum; pretending, forſooth, *That they took Arms for the defence of the Kings Perſon, and to remove evil Counſellors from him; for maintaining the Priviledges of Parliament, and the preſervation of the Reformed Religion; for aſſerting the Laws and ancient Government of* England, *nay and for ſecuring their Religion, Lives, and Eſtates:* and therefore inviting all to their aſſiſtance. *Having deceived the People by wheedles,*

By which Artifices the *Preachers* being bewitched, who were deſirous of a change in the Church-government, and ſomewhat tickled with the hopes (which the Rebels had roundly promiſed) that the Livings of the *Loyal* Clergy, and the fat Benefices of the *Biſhops*, *Deans*, and *Chapters*, would fall to their ſhare in the *Dividend*; they ſound the Trumpet to Rebellion from the Pulpit, from whence they ought to have preached the Goſpel of Peace. *And the Miniſters.*

The People upon this, ſpurred on with other hopes of a future Golden Age, and *of the temporal reign of the Meſſias*, comes flocking from all quarters, the men bringing a vaſt quantity of Money and Plate, and the women their Wedding-Rings, Thimbles, and Bodkins, and without any regard to their Families, by a ſtrange kind of a phrenzy, caſting them into the publick Stock or Treaſury. The men ſtrove who ſhould be firſt to liſt themſelves in this *holy War*: whence in a ſhort time, there was an Army of about twenty thouſand men got together, before the King had levied five hundred for his defence;

fence; and they also having more Cannon than he had Muskets in his possession.

They raise Pay. For raising Pay for their Army, besides the profuse Contributions and Benevolences of the People, they seize the Goods of the *Nobility* and Gentry, whom they knew to be of the Kings Party; they fall also upon the Revenues of the *Bishops*, *Prince*, *Queen*, and of the *King* himself, by way of sequestration: so that the *Kings Majesty* was forced to complain, *That they had not left him enough to live on.* And now they thought there was no more to be done, but to march, and seize the person of the King, who was overcome; and in a manner taken in a toyl; which they doubted not to promise themselves to be done within the space of a month.

Who favour the King. But the Will of God was otherwise: for the Juggles of the Rebels had not so blinded the understanding of the *English*, but that most part of the Lords and Peers of the *Upper House*, and almost an equal number of the *Lower*, who for Estates and Quality far exceeded the rest, went over to the Kings Party. Many also of those who tarried at *London* favoured the Royal Cause in secret, and in all Counties of the Kingdom there were many Gentlemen and common people that stood for the interest of the King.

By their assistance and his own authority, the King raises an Army, such as he could. By the assistance of these and the Royal Authority, which, like the Sun in an eclipse, drew together a crowd of Spectators, and by a certain pity and commiseration of some men who were ashamed to behold the Head of the Kingdom depressed into such a condition, as to be forced to flie from the Imperial City to *York*, from *York* to *Nottingham*, from *Nottingham* into *Shropshire* and the borders of *Wales*; after he had wandered up and down above four months, long and in vain imploring the help and assistance of his Subjects, the *King* at length got toge-

together a kind of a ſmall *Army*, which afterwards increaſed to greater Forces; the people the more readily flocking to the *King*, becauſe with him they thought the Government muſt ſtand or fall. Many of the *Nobility* and Gentry alſo brought what Forces they could to the Kings Party, amongſt whom (not to rob any of the Honour due to them) the Loyalty and Intereſt of the two Marqueſſes of *Hertford* and *Newcaſtle* was eminently conſpicuous; of whom the firſt brought with him a conſiderable Body of *Dutch*; and the other, almoſt at his own charge, raiſed no inconſiderable Army in the North: the Queen alſo ſending over Moneys and Arms, which by pawning her Jewels ſhe had raiſed; for which dutiful office to her Husband, the Rebels accuſe her of Treaſon.

The Iriſh Rebellion intervenes.

Whilſt theſe Clouds overcaſt the Sky at home, a diſmal Tempeſt thunders from abroad upon the heads of the *Engliſh*, which (becauſe it was of no ſmall moment as to our affairs) that I may not wholly paſs by in ſilence, the Reader muſt croſs the Sea with me into *Ireland*.

The *Iriſh*, who always bore impatiently the Yoke of the Engliſh Government, & out of a natural averſion heightened by the emulation of different Religions, watched for an opportunity to ſhake off the one, and to aſſert the other; I mean, *the Roman Catholick Religion*, did now attempt the Enterprize, which long before they had formed in their minds. For the whole Nation of a ſudden, and, which was ſtrange, by a clandeſtine and concealed Conſpiracy, fell upon the Engliſh ſcattered over *Ireland*, who were ſecure, and expected no ſuch thing, turn them out of houſe and hold, and without diſtinction of Age or Sex, without reſpect to Affinity or Relation, barbarouſly butcher many thouſands, like ſo many humane Sacrifices to their Superſtition. And had not

not the Conspiracy been detected at *Dublin*, and in other places, the more cautious agreeing to Arms had not withstood their fury, the *English* name was in a fair way of being totally extinguished in *Ireland*.

The good luck was, that the very day before the intended Insurrection, the mystery of the Plot was discovered at *Dublin* by an *Irish* Footman belonging to Sir *John Clotworthie*, who having refused to act the part that was put upon him in the Conspiracy, opened the whole Intrigue to his Master, who presently informed the Privy-Council of it. Though many of the Conspirators fled, yet two of the chief *Incendiaries* and Promoters of the Rebellion, who had also undertaken to surprize *Dublin*-Castle, I mean, the Lord *Macquire* and *Macmahon*, were apprehended. Being committed to Prison, they were afterwards conveyed to *London*; where having long suffered the incommodities of a Prison, (that we may at once make an end of them) they made their escape; but being by another *Irish*-man betrayed, in the absence of the *King*, who was then inevitably engaged in a War with his Subjects of *England*, they were taken, and at the *Kings-bench-bar* tried for High-Treason. *Macquire* being found guilty by a Jury, had sentence pronounced against him according to the Laws of the Country: That he should be dragged to *Tyburn* in a Hurdle, hang'd by the neck till he be half dead, his privy Members and Bowels burnt before his face, his Head cut off and set upon *London*-bridge, and his Quarters upon four Gates of the City. This Sentence was punctually executed in the presence of the Sheriff of *London*, and fifteen thousand Spectators at least.

Macquire and Macmahon, the Incendiaries of the Irish Rebellion, are taken & carried to London.

There to be punished with the utmost rigour.

Nor is it to be omitted that the Sheriff having adjured *Macquire* by the dreadful *Tribunal* of God, before which shortly he was to appear, and the clearing

Macquire upon the brink of death.

clearing and easing of his Conscience, which was then or never to be done, that he would ingenuously confess whom he knew to be guilty of the same Crime; though the Rope was about his neck, and he half up the Ladder, yet by name he acquitted *King Charles* from being any ways privy to it; solemnly professing that he knew no *English*-man but one, and he a Papist, that had any hand in the matter. Nay, and being cast off the Ladder, and when after he had tried what hanging was, he was a little reprieved, and had no small hopes given him of a pardon; he still persisted in the same protestation. *Constantly asserts the innocence of the K.*

But in the *Pulpits*, *Clubs*, and publick *Pamphlets*, the Crime was charged upon *King Charles*; nor did the Rebels blush to asperse even the sacred and innocent Majesty of the *King* with so heinous a guilt, hoping that whilst they continued so boldly to vent their Calumnies and Slanders against him, some of them at least would stick. *Upon whom nevertheless the Rebels charge the Crime.*

The *Irish Nobility* and *Priests*, who were the chief Actors in this Tragedy, were encouraged to the Villany by the late successes of the *Scots*, *who* (to speak in the language of Sir *John Temple*, a Privy-Counsellor of that Kingdom, who wrote the History of those Troubles) *having happily succeeded in their attempts, obtained by their last Commotions considerable Priviledges from the King.* To this adde, that our intestine Troubles seemed to offer fair opportunity of changes, it being very rational and easie to conjecture, that the *English* being ready to fall together by the ears at home, there was no fear that they would cross over to *Ireland* to defend and assist their *Colonies* in that Kingdom. Their boldness was increased by the *Interregnum* occasioned by the murder of *Strafford*, and the change of the *Magistrates*, of whom the severer and best acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, were by the interest of the *Who were the Authors of it,* *And what opportunities they made use of.*

Irish

Irish *Lords*, whilst they prosecuted *Strafford* in *England*, either thrust out of place, or accused of *High-Treason*, men who were either ignorant of the Affairs and State of *Ireland*, or who were prone to Rebellion, being put into their places.

Being thus in a readiness, the unseasonable disbanding of an Army of eight thousand *Irish* who had been raised for the Scottish expedition, did not a little strengthen their resolution: for though the King after the pacification of the *Scots*, lest they might occasion Stirs in *Ireland*, had permitted the *Spanish* Embassadour to transport four thousand of them; yet the *Irish Lords* put on by the Conspirators, got the Parliament, under pretext that the *French King* might take it ill, earnestly to beseech that it might not be done. And afterwards when the King had ordered the same number to be raised for the service of the French, without any reasons alleadged, they utterly rejected it. Very few of the Captains and Officers of that Army dishonoured themselves by joyning in the Rebellion; but the private Souldiers, whose custom it is to be insolent, and at length appear valiant when they are about to be dismissed from the dangers of War, easily rushed into that Villany.

By what arts they stir up the Colonies to joyn with them in Rebellion.

The *Lords* and *Priests* being soothed with these so many fair opportunities of fishing in troubled waters, that they might weaken our *Colonies*, divide and distract their thoughts, and in the mean time incense the *Natives* to slaughter and rapine, they cast about all ways. To the English they brag, *That the Queen is in their Army, that the King was coming with an Army to their assistance; that the* Scots *were agreed with him*; and to make that the more credible, amongst the slaughter of the *English* they spare the *Scots*: *They give out that they have the Kings Commission, and act by virtue of his authority*; shewing indeed

indeed a counterfeit Commiſſion to which one *Plunket*, with the conſent of many *Lords* and *Prieſts* at *Farn*-Abbey, had appended the Kings Seal taken from another old Commiſſion, as appeared by the confeſſions of a great many afterwards; *That they defend the King's Cauſe againſt the Puritans.* Amongſt their own men they divulge counterfeit Letters, whereby they pretend to be informed from *England*, *That there was an Act lately paſt whereby all the* Iriſh *were to be forced to go to Church and aſſiſt at the Devotion of the Proteſtants, upon pain of forfeiture; for the firſt offence, of their Chattels; for the ſecond, of their Lands and Inheritances; and for the third, of their Lives.* They propoſe, beſides, to the *Natives* the hopes of Liberty, and of recovering their ancient Cuſtoms: *That the Engliſh Yoke is to be caſt off, a King to be choſen of their own Nation, and the Goods and Eſtates of the Engliſh to be divided amongſt the Natives.*

By this hope of booty, and of living at their own liberty for the future, the *Iriſh* are allured to the War; and being egg'd on with fury and rage, they committed ſuch horrid and heynous Crimes, as hardly any Age can parallel.

The King foreſaw the Storm a coming whilſt he was in *Scotland*; and therefore that he might prevent it whilſt it was a gathering, he preſently diſpatched Sir *James Hamilton* to the *Lords* and others of his Majeſties Privy-Council of *Ireland*, with inſtructions, and what money he could raiſe of his own and from his friends on the ſudden. He earneſtly deſires the aſſiſtance of the *Parliament* of *Scotland*, and acquaints the *Parliament* of *England* with it alſo: But the one, under pretext that *Ireland* was under the dominion of *England*, refuſe their aſſiſtance; and the other takes but little notice of it. The *Factious* tacitly rejoycing that new Troubles

were arising to the *King*, and that *Kingly* government being abolished alike in all the three Kingdoms, they would shortly be turned into so many free Commonwealths.

The zeal of the English for the revenge & defence of their Colonies.

But the Sparks breaking out into a flame, and the report of the *Irish* barbarity being in every bodies mouth, the *Parliament* was enraged, and all were filled with an extraordinary zeal of revenging the bloud of their Country-men treacherously killed, and of defending and protecting the surviving. For the charges of a War, in a short time three hundred thousand pound English was raised, partly by benevolent Contributions, and partly out of the price of the Lands and Inheritances of the Rebels, which by the Parliament were sold, to be after the Victory (that the goodness of the Cause made them not doubt of) distributed amongst the Purchasers; and many thousand *English* listed themselves for the service. Nevertheless, such was the misery of this Nation, that that which is wont to procure some short Peace at least, amongst those who are at greatest variance, served onely to inflame our Broils.

Is eluded by the intestine Broils betwixt the King and Parliament,

And mutual Accusations.

On the one hand, they who were altogether given to changes, buzzing I know not what fears and jealousies into the ears of those who were but too prone to make the worst of things, obtain in *Parliament*, that the War be not carried on in the name of the King, nor that any Souldier who had shew'd his Loyalty to the King, or had served in the *Scottish* Expedition, should be admitted into this War. And for managing the War they also prefer factious men, and such as were ungrateful to the King. On the other hand, the *King* intended to lead the Army against the Rebels in person, urging and insisting, *That he might use the right and power of War, which the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom entrusted him with.*

The

The *King* at length desiring to overcome his Competitors by *courtesie* and yielding, if he could not by power and strength, consents that the War be carried on in his own and the Parliaments name, and that the Commissions should run in the name of the *King* and *Parliament*; granting the *Parliament* the power of levying and arming the Army, and of chusing the Generals and Commanders; and the *King* reserving to himself no liberty of making Peace or pardoning the Rebels without the consent of *Parliament*. *Which at length are quieted upon the K.'s yielding his Right.*

Yet neither so did the swellings of the Parliament abate: for not long after, (the Civil War breaking out in *England*) the Parliament make use of an hundred thousand pound raised for the *Irish War*, and two or three Regiments of men that were to be sent over for suppressing that Rebellion, for oppressing of the King here at home. Nay, and they make no scruple to employ the money that was charitably collected for the relief of the poor distressed Protestants, and for building of Churches, in paying their own Souldiers. *They break out again.*

On the other side, the *King*'s Souldiers seize the Ammunition sent by the *Parliament* towards *Chester*; which, so soon as they gave it out that it was designed for the War in *Ireland*, the King commanded to be restored. The Parliament, that by putting indignities upon the *King*, they might raise their own Reputation, alleadging some silly slight suspicions, are not ashamed to impute the *Irish* Rebellion to the *King* as the Author of it. But, as the truth was, his Majesty retorts the crime and infamy of it with far better reasons, upon the factious Members of Parliament.

Yet these things hinder not but that our Auxiliary forces beat the *Irish* Rebels, and put them to flight in all places, kill, plunder, burn, and destroy *The* English *thrice beat the* Irish.

many thouſands of the *Natives*, and by a great ſlaughter revenge the murder of their Country-men. But at the ſame time they lay all the Country waſte and deſolate; which at length was no leſs prejudicial to themſelves, than to the *Natives*: for the War increaſing in *England*, the Souldiers wanting Corn, Ammunition, Clothes, Pay, and indeed all things neceſſary, and at length being unable to ſupport their wants, it is hardly to be expreſt what miſeries and calamities our Country-men ſuffered in *Ireland*; and having long ſtruggled with theſe difficulties, and with all importunity, but in vain, begg'd aſſiſtance from the *Parliament*, The *Privy-Council* of the Kingdom, *Commanders* of the Army, and the *Souldiers* themſelves write to the King, earneſtly begging to be disbanded, or employed in other ſervice, where they might have any Enemy but Hunger to fight with.

And laid the Country ſo waſte, that for want of neceſſaries, they ſuffered a great deal of miſery;

And deſire to be recalled.

The *King* at length, ſeeing the *Scots* were coming with aſſiſtance to the Parliament-forces, being too weak to make head againſt the *Rebellion*, moved on the one hand by his own neceſſities, and on the other by the importunate Prayers of his Subjects, commands a Truce to be made with the *Iriſh* for a year, that in the mean time, if it were poſſible, he might make Peace upon good terms.

Wherefore the K. commands them to make a Truce with the Iriſh; *and the* Scots *marching into* England,

A Truce being made with the *Iriſh*, and Forces being left ſufficient for maintaining the Garriſons, the Souldiers return from *Ireland* to the aſſiſtance of the *King*, whoſe fortune againſt the Parliament at home manifeſtly declined. But the *Scots*, who inhabited the greateſt part of *Ulſter*, ſupplied with Pay and Ammunition by the *Parliament*, refuſe the Truce; as alſo ſome *Engliſh* in *Connaught* and *Ulſter*, who lived in good correſpondence with the *Scots*.

He calls over the Souldiers for his own defence.

By whom the Truce is broken.

A little after, the Lord *Inchiqueen* who commanded

the

the *Munſter*-Forces, having brought over ſome thouſands of men to the Kings aſſiſtance, when he thought himſelf not treated according to his dignity and merit, flying over ſecretly into *Ireland*, tampers firſt with thoſe of *Cork*, and then with all ſuch of the Province of *Munſter* as were on the Engliſh ſide, and having drawn them over to the *Parliament*, he rejects the Truce; and is preſently aſſiſted by the Scottiſh Forces, and ſupplied with Money, Proviſions, and Ammunition from the Parliament.

Ireland being now delivered from the Engliſh Souldiers, the Natives lay hold on the opportunity of recovering the whole Kingdom under the command of *Owen Ro* General of the Rebels, and having broken the truce which they had ſolemnly made, and arming of a ſudden, they had ſurprized and ſeized the *Marqueſs of Ormond*, not dreaming of any ſuch thing, had he not, being informed of it a little before, by by-ways mays made his eſcape to *Dublin*. Having afterward joyned their Forces, thoſe who were willing to keep the Truce, being inſtigated to the contrary by the *Nuncio* who produced the *Popes* Bull, they all together beſiege the City of *Dublin* by Land, whilſt at the ſame time the *Parliament*-Ships ſhut up the Haven.

The K's Forces are attacked both by the Iriſh and the Parliamentarians.

The Marqueſs being overmatched by the Forces of three Nations, acquaints the *King* with his condition; who ſends him inſtructions that if he could not defend the City, he ſhould rather deliver it up to the Parliament, than ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the *Iriſh*. Having therefore agreed upon Articles, amongſt which it was one, That he ſhould have liberty to go to the *King*, that he might give his *Majeſty* an account of all the affairs of *Ireland*; the *Marqueſs* returned into *England*, and found the King at *Hampton-Court*, environed by the *Parliaments*

And being overmatched, whatever was on the K.'s ſide in Ireland *is delivered up to the Parl.*

ments Rebel-Souldiers: where being informed that he was to be apprehended by Order of *Parliament*, he secretly withdrew into *France*, that he might escape their Snares.

The K. afterward being imprisoned, the Marquess of Ormond *returns with new instructions & authority, whereby he joyns all Parties into one for delivering the King.*

Not long after, when the King was committed to Prison in the Isle of *Wight*, and that the Rebels had cut off all hopes of restoring Peace and Liberty by their Vote of no more addressing to the King, (of which more hereafter) having received new instruction, he returned in quality of *Lord-Lieutenant* into *Ireland*, where he endeavoured with all care to make the best Peace he could, and to unite the *English*, *Scots*, and *Irish* for the assistance of the *King*.

With whom many English, *Some* Irish,

The Lord *Inchiqueen* with the *English* under his command, joyns him.

Some *Irish* commanded by *Preston* and *Taaff*, not forgetting their former Truce, make no scruple to joyn with them; others being still in doubt what to do.

And Scots *joyn.*

The *Scots* forbear hostility against the Kings Party, and march against the Rebels; but give hopes that at length they may unite with the Marquess.

But the Parliament Governour resisting,

And now *Jones* Governour of *Dublin*, and the Parliament-forces there, the very same who with so bitter and vehement Reproaches inveighed against the Truce and Peace made by *Ormond* with the *Papists*, as the utter ruining of their Religion, was caught in the same embraces of the Whore of *Babylon*: for without either conscience or shame they at length make a strict League, and unite their Forces with *Owen Ro* the General of the Rebels, a man infamous for the bloud and slaughter of the English against the Kings Army and the Protestants.

Associates with the Irish *Rebels.*

The discourse returns to the Troubles of England.

But now from foreign *miseries*, (though indeed they be not altogether foreign) which though happening in very distant times, yet for avoiding frequent

quent digreſſions, we thought fit to preſent to the Reader under one view; Let us now return to *our own*, which were carried on with far greater and more pitched Battels, though with leſs ſlaughter and treachery, the fire burning but ſlowly, becauſe, to our ſorrow, the fuel was the longer to laſt.

The King and Parl. fight; and the Victory inclining to the King, the Rebels loſe Courage,

Many Battels with various ſucceſs, and in ſeveral places, were fought betwixt the *Kings* Forces and the Parliament-Rebels, till at length Fortune breathing favourably upon the Kings Banners, the Rebels began to loſe courage, and many that had been Sticklers in the Faction, to deſert and fall off from their Party.

And invite the Scots *to their aſſiſtance.*

The Parliament being reduced to ſtreights, invite the *Scots* to their aſſiſtance; and that they might revive the expiring and almoſt extinct opinion of the people which formerly they had enjoyed, and the admiration they were had in for wonderful zeal for the Publick Good and purity of Religion, and at the ſame time, time drain the peoples Purſes of their money, they have recourſe to their often-practiſed tricks.

By what Arts they confirm the people in their errours: by calumnies, to wit, againſt the K. ſpread amongſt the Rabble.

They forge new Calumnies againſt the King, and thoſe of his Party; and ſpread abroad everywhere amongſt the people, *As if the King affected an abſolute tyrannical Power, and that he would forfeit the Eſtates of all thoſe who had been againſt him; that he would make Slaves of their perſons, and leave no place for pardon, nor the leaſt footſtep of their ancient Liberty; nay, and that renouncing the reformed Religion, he was about to bring in Popery, whereby all would be forced to go to Maſs.* And that the ſilly ignorant people might not want Pretexts for their obſtinacy, they perſwade the Rabble, *That the Kings Souldiers being accuſtomed to eat mens fleſh, would feed and feaſt upon them; nay, and that their Dogs and Horſes, bred up to the ſame diſhes, were already gaping for their carcaſſes.*

Some Sacrifices being offered to publick Justice;

They appoint some remarkable Sacrifices to be offered to *Publick Justice*; for so was that barbarous practice of pleasing the Rabble with bloudy Spectacles, and gratifying their own cruel revenge, at that time called amongst the ignorant people: Amongst these were Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, *Carey*, and especially (that the friendship of the *Scots* might be cemented with *Episcopal* bloud) *William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury*; he being condemned of High-Treason, by a partial and factious sentence of the House of Peers, (who according to the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, cannot, without the Kings consent, adjudge the meanest person to death;) and they by a Council of War.

Prayers, Fasts, and Thanksgivings appointed; superstitious Pictures burnt, Crosses and Images pull'd down;

They appoint days of Fasting and publick Prayers, and of Thanksgiving also, for inconsiderable Victories; publickly, and with great solemnity burn the Pictures of *our Saviour*, the *Virgin* and *Saints*, and so renew their Martyrdom; and with no ordinary devotion pull down *Crosses* and *Standards* bearing the Images of *Saints*, though they were not onely ornamental but useful in the chief streets of *London*.

Episcopacy & Service-book being abrogated, An Assemby *is called;*

They also vote the abrogation of *Episcopacy* and *Service-book*, and commit it to the care of the *Assembly* to frame a new Church-government, and manner of Divine Worship, instead of them; of which, the Reader I hope will pardon me, if contrary to my custom I discourse a little more largely. To this *Assembly* two Ministers of the most zealous Enemies of the *Bishops* and *Liturgie*, are called, and come by authority of the *House of Commons*; some of the Episcopal Clergy being also invited, who having no command from the King, refuse to come, and give place to some of the more eminent *Scottish* Ministers to mingle with them.

These having long hatched, at length bring forth

a *Confeſſion of Faith*, a *Catechiſm* containing the heads of the Chriſtian Religion, and a *Directory* or Scheme of publick Worſhip; wherein no Set-forms were preſcribed, but a certain Rule whereby, according to general heads appointed for all occaſions, the *Levites* of the *new Law* were inſtructed to pour out their extemporary and conceived Prayers. The *Presbyterian* Government and Worſhip were likewiſe eſtabliſhed, to be adminiſtred by Paſtors, Teachers, *Lay-Elders*, and *Deacons*, in four Courts, to wit, the *Parochial*, *Claſſical*, *Provincial*, and *National*.

which makes a Confeſſion of Faith,

And a new Presbyterian Government in the Church.

The *Parochial* Court conſiſted of one or two *Lay-Elders* at leaſt, and one or two *Paſtors* or *Miniſters*, according to the nature of the place. Theſe had power to rule over the Pariſhoners, and weekly to meet; to call before them the Pariſhoners, and to take inſpection into their lives and manners, admitting thoſe whom they thought worthy, to the Communion of the *Lords Supper*; reproving and publickly cenſuring others, nay, and for ſome time debaring them from the *Sacrament*, if they were guilty of any offence that might give ſcandal to the *Congregation*; and to excommunicate thoſe that would not ſubmit.

The *Claſſical* Court or *Presbytery*, was to meet once a month or oftener, and was made up of the Deputies of twelve Pariſhes at leaſt, two out of each, the one a Church-man, and the other a Laick; or ſometimes more. To theſe it belonged to take cognizance of the aforementioned matters, eſpecially if any *difficulty* or *Appeal* intervened; to correct the *Miniſters* themſelves, give orders to the * *Expectants*, pronounce ſentence of *Excommunication*, and to determine Caſes of Conſcience, and Controverſies in Doctrine.

* *Theſe* Expectants *were young men who ſtood candidates for the Miniſtry, and ſought to obtain Orders.*

The *Provincial* Court or Aſſembly conſiſting of Deputies

Deputies from the several *Classes* or Presbyteries of the whole Province both of the *Church* and *Laity*, had an authority superiour to the former. Over all was the *National* Assembly, the supreme Judicature in Ecclesiastical affairs, which had power to make or rescind the Canons or Laws of the Church, inflict severer punishments, and to determine all points concerning Manners, Church-discipline, and Government. From the lowest to the highest of these Courts, it was lawful to appeal.

This assembly endeavoured to have no *Sect* allowed the liberty of Worship, but all to be extirpated. But when they could not obtain this from the Parliament, in which were many *Independents*, *Erastians*, *Anabaptists*, and *Atheists*, the Rabble interposeth, and very often, whilst the *Presbyterians* were at the helm, disturb the religious meetings of the other *Sectarians* by hurling of Stones amongst them. The liberty of a great many being, contrary to expectation, restrained, the *Parliament* settle the *Presbyterian* government onely for three years, that in that time they might have a tryal how it would fadge.

Many Politicians *&* Lawyers *being highly displeased.*

This Novelty set mens humours wonderfully a working. The *Politicians* and *Lawyers* were highly offended that there were as many *Judicatures* established as there were *Parishes* in *England*, and these almost arbitrary, putting the *Rule* into the hands of unskilful men, and for the most part incapable of government, and began to foresee at a distance I know not what calamities, ready to spring from thence, in *Families*, *Parishes*, *Counties*, nay and in the whole *Kingdom* also. Most part of the people grumble to be put again to School, and to be taught the Rudiments and Principles of their *Religion*, wherein they thought themselves already very well instructed.

And others also.

Those

Thoſe that were zealous for *Epiſcopal* government and the *Service-book*, bite the bit. But none repined more than the *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, and the other *Sects*, who ſaw their beloved *liberty of Conſcience* in danger; for which they had at firſt taken up Arms againſt the King, hazarded their lives in ſo many battels, and ſuffered ſo much labour, coſt, watchings, and danger.

Nevertheleſs, the Government went bravely on in *London*, but ſo and ſo in the other Cities and populous Towns, and but very coldly in the *Country*; ſo that the triennial Eſſay being over, and no new *Act* made to confirm it, it had much ado to keep life. And thus far concerning Church-affairs, which we thought fit to relate together, though they happened not all at the ſame time.

Let us now return to the other arts whereby they wheadled the *Scots*. Amongſt which it was of greateſt moment, no-leſs for endearing the *Scots* to them, than for raiſing their power and authority amongſt the *Natives*, to ſell the *Biſhops* Lands at very eaſie rates; ſo that Purchaſers flocked in from all quarters, who with the materials of demoliſhed Palaces, and the Timber they cut down, having paid for their Purchaſes, got large and entire Manors almoſt for nothing. And (that once for all I may tell it) they lay *Exciſe*, *Cuſtoms*, and ſuch heavy and continual Taxes and Impoſitions upon the people, as none of all the Kings that ever ſat upon the Throne of *England* durſt ever before that time impoſe; and ſuch as were not onely ſufficient to defray all publick expenſes, but in ſome meaſure alſo the inſatiable avarice and voraciouſneſs of their Factors and Agents; beſides what they got by plundering, ſequeſtration and other ways. The *Scots* being allured by theſe Morſels, are tooth and nail for the intereſts of the *Parliament*.

Biſhops Lands are ſold at eaſie rates.

The

The Scots *conſent,*

The *Scots*, the declared enemies of *Epiſcopacy*, fearing the worſt, if the King ſhould obtain the victory over the Parliament, and being drawn in by the aforementioned baits, enter into Articles of a Confederacy; among which, to give a colour of honeſty and integrity to the reſt, the chief was, *That no hurt be attempted againſt his Majeſties perſon, nor prejudice done to the Rights or Heirs of the Crown:* an Oath being likewiſe taken by the Members of both Houſes, and all the Inhabitants of both Kingdoms being forced to do the ſame. This they call the *Solemn League and Covenant*; and in it promiſe, *That according to their Places and Callings, they ſhall endeavour the preſervation of the reformed Religion in the Church of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government: The reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the beſt reformed Churches: and ſhall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the neareſt conjunction and uniformity in Religion,* &c. *That they ſhall alſo endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm, Profaneneſs,* &c. *That they ſhall mutually endeavour to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms; and to preſerve and defend the Kings Majeſties perſon and authority* in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms; *That the World may bear witneſs with their Conſciences of their Loyalty, that they have no thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his Majeſties juſt power and greatneſs: That they ſhall endeavour to diſcover all Incendiaries and Malignants* (branding with thoſe aſperſions all that favoured the Kings Party) *that they may be brought to publick tryal, and receive condign puniſhment: That they ſhall endeavour that the Kingdoms*

Having entered into Covenant.

doms may remain conjoyned in a firm Peace and Union to Posterity; shall assist and defend all those that enter into that League and Covenant, and shall zealously and constantly all the days of their lives continue therein.

Wherein the Independents are Ring-leaders.

No inconsiderable Authors of entering into this Covenant, were the *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, and *Republicans*, and the chief and most severe in forcing it upon others who were unwilling to take the same; though many of themselves purposely refrained from swearing it, lest upon that account they should oblige themselves to the defence of the *Kings person.*

It is also to be observed, that the clause of *defending the Kings Majesties person and authority in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms*, was by their artifices foisted in contrary to the sence and tenour of the Covenant, under colour, forsooth, *that the safety of his Majesties person was sufficiently secured by other Oaths; that the repetition of the same promise would but harden the Kings mind against the Parliament, and make the People scrupulous in obeying the same:* But in reality, as appeared afterward, that all obstacles being as much as might be removed, they might make way for the murther of the *King.* These things being contrived and carried on betwixt the factious *Scots* and *English*, those who took that Covenant with an honest purpose, as many good men did, being won over by fear, delusion, or false hope, called themselves *Presbyterians*; other Factious of less note, as *Independents*, *Anabaptists*, and other *Fanaticks*, not disdaining to list themselves in the same *Cause.*

Who take the Covenant with an honest designe, are called Presbyterians.

They cruelly persecute Dissenters.

These cruelly persecute all Dissenters who will not engage in that holy Covenant, though they had acted nothing before against the *Parliamentary* Faction, though they had not refused to pay any

Taxes

Taxes and Impositions, nay, though they had freely contributed for the pay of the *Parliament*-forces. The *Parsons*, especially who enjoyed fat Benefices, are sequestrated, and deprived of their Houses, Goods, and Livings, put into Prisons and Dungeons for many years together, nay, and put on board of Ships upon the *Thames*, in the heat of Summer, in order to transportation, without being either accused or heard; where they suffered all the incommodities of hunger, watching, and nastiness.

The fruit of the Covenant.

By the *Religion* of this *Covenant*, *Children* were taught to persecute, inform against, and rob their *Parents*, *Fathers* their *Children*, *Servants* their *Masters*, *Wives* their *Husbands*; so that the mutual Offices to which men are bound in society, were denied to those that differed from them in opinion.

For these reasons many, contrary to the Dictates of Conscience, run into the noose of the Covenant, and at length, whether that they thought themselves obnoxious to the *Kings* Laws, or really bound in conscience by their Oath, they seriously espoused the Party of the *Parliament*.

Learned men dispute against it.

Against this, many learned and pious men took up the Cudgels, and in several Treatises (amongst which was the *Judgment* of the University of *Oxford*, an unanswerable piece in Latin) confuted it as contrary to the Laws both of God and man; the Covenanters in the mean time making no answer, but with force and the sharper Arguments of the Sword.

The Scots *again come into* England.

The *Scots* who faithfully promised the King to give him no trouble in his affairs in *England*, having by those previous artifices cleared their way into that Kingdom, with twenty thousand men come to the assistance of the *Parliament*. But first, for forms sake, they send Commissioners to the

King

King to perſwade him, being inclinable enough of himſelf, to make peace with the Parliament, and to offer themſelves as Mediators of the Controverſie: but the King having rejected them as unjuſt and partial *Judges*, and commanded them to mind their own affairs at home; they call a Parliament againſt all Law, in the Kings name, and then declare War.

The *King* foreſeeing the Storm that was like to fall upon himſelf and Party, had provided againſt it as well as poſſibly he could. The *Lords* and Members of the Houſe of Commons, who, though they were excluded the Houſes, thought it their duty ſtill to ſtand by the Publick, came over to the *Kings* ſide; and the former to the number of forty, with the *Lord Keeper of the great Seal*, and the latter above two hundred, transfer the Parliament to *Oxford*; where being called to Council before they were admitted to take Arms by the King, they held a Seſſion of Parliament by the Kings authority, nothing being wanting to the power and dignity of a *Parliament*, but Walls and the place appointed by the Kings Writ.

The King looks to himſelf.

The Parliament at Oxford.

To theſe the King gave ſtrictly in charge, that they would do what lay in their power to avert the Storm, or at leaſt conſult how they might be able to reſiſt it. This Parliament wrote to the *Scots* that they would not in an hoſtile manner invade the *King* and Kingdom of *England*, nor violate the Pacification formerly made: They declare it *Treaſon* to take up Arms againſt the King, or without his conſent to call a foreign Nation into the Kingdom; and that therefore the *Rump-Parliament* ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, were upon both accounts guilty of High-Treaſon. They alſo paſs an Act for raiſing as much money as could reaſonably be expected from the exhauſted Counties and Towns which ſtill continued in obedience to the King,

King, for defraying the charges of a double War now approaching.

The K. writes to the Scots. The King alſo by Letters earneſtly dehorted the *Scots* from that unlawful attempt, and prohibits them by Proclamation, *That being his Subjects, and obliged by ſo many bonds, they would not come to the aſſiſtance of Rebels.* But this, being ſigned by the hands of nineteen Lords, the prevailing Rebels of *Scotland*, with matchleſs inſolence in Subjects, cauſe it publickly to be burnt by the common Hangman.

Sends the Marqueſs of Hamilton *to draw them back into* Scotland. The *Marqueſs of Hamilton* is commanded to keep the *Scots* at home, that they might not meddle in the affairs of another Kingdom; who being diſcovered to have unfaithfully diſcharged that Office, having under pretext of danger fled out of *Scotland* to the King, was afterward committed to Priſon.

Being deluded by him, he ſends the Marqueſs of Montroſs. The *Marqueſs of Montroſs* being made General and *Commiſſioner* of *Scotland*, is diſpatched thither, that by giving them a diverſion at home, they might be kept from invading *England.* This Commiſſion was valiantly diſcharged by the *Marqueſs*, having with a handful of men, and thoſe raw and undiſciplined, put whole Armies to flight, and everywhere waſted the Country.

The Scots *nevertheleſs purſue the War againſt the K. and prevail.* However, the *Scots* purſuing their point, left not *England*, before by the help of *Fairfax* they had routed no ſmall part of the Kings Army, which they had long diverted from quelling the *Parliamentarians* elſewhere; taken *Newcaſtle*, and other ſtrong places, and handed on the Victory into the more Southern parts. Henceforward the Kings affairs do dayly decline, and were at length totally ruin'd, Victory everywhere ſmiling upon the *Rebels.*

The *Republican Rebels* having obtained many Victories, began to vent their hatred and indignation

nation against the *Lords*, and especially after the last *Newberry* Fight, they grew sick of the *Earl of Manchester*. For he in a Council of War giving his opinion, and exhorting them to Peace, which he judged more expedient to the State, seemed not so thorough-paced and fierce upon the War as they could have desired: and being therefore, in a long Speech, accused by *Cromwel* in the *Lower House*, he defends himself in the *Upper*, retorting the accusation: So that both *Houses* thought it more convenient to compose the difference betwixt them, than to enter into the merits of the Cause.

The K.'s Party goes to wrack.

The Kings Forces being at length scattered and broken by the *Scots* on the one hand, and the *Parliament-Rebels* on the other, Pay and Provisions being wanting, and Factions arising betwixt the *Commanders* of the Army and the *Lords* (that all things might conspire to draw down *Judgments* upon us) *His Majesty* had in his mind, first, to come to *London* and trust himself in the hands of the Parliament; next, to cast himself into the arms of the *English Army*: but being rejected by both, and his affairs in a very doubtful condition, he ventured to betake himself to the *Scots*, the *French Embassadour*, who then was in the *Scottish* Army, and some *Scottish Commanders* having obtained from them promises of honour, safety, and freedom for his *Majesties* person.

His Majesty having in vain essayed the English,

Casts himself into the hands of the Scots.

Former grudges are revived betwixt the English & Scottish Rebels.

This revived former Grudges betwixt the *English* and *Scottish* Rebels, which had almost broken out into a War.

It was likewise given out, that the Earl of *Essex*, who from a General was now become a private person, would joyn with the *Lords* and *Commons*, that conspired for their ruine, in new Articles and Resolutions with the *Scots*; but his sudden death, occasioned by lying on the ground when he was all

in a sweat after hunting, dissipated all those rumours. Nevertheless, the Rebels thought fit, at publick cost, to humour him with magnificent Funerals, as being more for their interest to shew gratitude to a dead friend, than to have him perhaps a living enemy.

Provocations given to the Scots.

Upon this they began to deny the *Scots* their Pay, put a necessity upon them of exacting Money and free Quarters from the *Counties* where they lay, expose them to hatred, extenuate their merits, undervalue the courage of the Nation, call them *mercenary Souldiers of fortune*, whilst they in the mean time paid them onely with Reproaches; threaten to drive them out of the Kingdom by force of Arms, publickly provoke them, and at length march Northward against their *Brethren*. Nor durst the *English Presbyterians*, who favoured the *Scots*, say much to the contrary, lest they should seem more concerned for the insolence of a foreign Nation, than the honour of their *Country-men*.

The Presbyterians holding their peace.

Debates betwixt the Scots *&* Parliament *of* England.

At length after long Debates, *the* Scots *pretending that it was contrary to the Laws of Nations and Hospitality to deliver up the King, who of his own accord put himself under their protection, into the hands of the Parliamentarians*; our Republican Rebels on the other hand, urging in the name of the Parliament, *That the* Scots *serving and receiving pay in* England, *ought not to have received the King into their Army, and much less keep him there against the will of the Parliament*; but after some formal previous Treaties, that might serve to enhaunce the price, it was resolved that the King should be delivered up to the *Parliamentarian-Rebels*.

The Scots *having got money deliver the K. up to the Parl. upon pretext that he would not take the Covenant.*

And that they might have a specious colour for so horrid an action, *They urge the King to take the Covenant*, pretending *that without that they could not lawfully take him with them into* Scotland. The

King

King promiſes to take that Oath, provided he were ſatisfied in ſome ſcruples of Conſcience, concerning *Church-government*: which Province was committed to the Miniſter *Henderſon* the then Oracle of the *Kirk*, who weakly and unſucceſsfully attempted it: for in their diſputes the King, in the judgment of all, had the better on't; but money prevailed. The *Scots* having received an hundred thouſand pounds *Engliſh* in ready money, and the promiſe of an hundred thouſand more to be paid within a year, draw out of *England*, leaving the *King* to the mercy of the *Parliament*; but with this condition, *That no injury ſhould be offered to his Majeſties perſon, and that he might be received in one of his houſes in or about* London *with honour, ſafety, and freedom, that ſo he might be prevailed with by Arguments from both Nations to confirm and approve their Propoſitions.*

The K. being received by the Parliament-Commiſſioners, is conducted to Holmely-*houſe.*

The King being received at *Newcaſtle* by the *Parliament*-Commiſſioners, four *Lords* and eight *Commoners*, was with a guard of Souldiers conducted to *Holmeby* houſe in *Northamptonſhire*, where he ſuffered a ſplendid, indeed, but cloſe impriſonment; all who had either actually been, or ſuſpected to be of his Party, being removed from him, nay, and his domeſtick Chaplains alſo, whoſe aſſiſtance he had often deſired of the Parliament.

The Rebels diſagree amongſt themſelves.

An account, by way of digreſſion, of the beginnings, progreſs, facts and opinions of the Factious.

The *Conquerours* now in ſtriving for the Booty and Government, did no longer diſſemble their opinions, but divide themſelves into various *Sects* and *Names*; which hitherto we called by the common name of *Factious* or *Rebels*, but ſhall now divide them into their ſeveral *Claſſes* and *Forms*, as likewiſe ſhewing by what cunning and degrees they who got into power, advanced to the Supremacy. Which that we may the more clearly do, it will not be amiſs to look into ſome paſt Ages.

It is not to be denied but that the ſeeds of *Fa-*

The seeds of them sown in the very reformation;

tion were sow'd in *England* from the very beginning of the Reformation. Nor are the *Roman Catholicks* to be proud of this, since they have given the examples to others, by subjecting the Crowns and Scepters of *Kings*, to the Mitre of the *Pope* and Keys of St. *Peter*, and are no less dangerous to *Kings*, whom they have pulled from their Thrones, and exposed to the Daggers of Assassinates.

Concerning Church-government, the Liturgie and Ceremonies, which were establish'd by Kings and Parliaments.

From that time *some*, but in no great number, are for shaking off *Rome* in every thing, and not leaving the least monument of the ancient *Church-government* or *Liturgie*.

But the greater number, and those the wiser, thinking it enough to retrench what was superfluous and superstitious, are for retaining Episcopal government and a publick reformed *Liturgie*: *the one*, because it suited well with *Monarchical* government and civil interest of the State; and *the other*, because it seemed pious and adapted to the publick Worship of God.

Both these, as being consonant to primitive Constitutions, *Kings* and *Parliaments*, wisely to prevent the inconveniencies that happen from skipping from one extreme to another, thought fit to establish by Laws, and to inflict severe Penalties upon Dissenters.

Hence arose Disputes and Controversies; scandalous Libels from the Anti-Episcopa-rians; suspensions, depravations, &c. from the Bishops.

This at first gave ground to heart-burnings, afterwards to reasonings about the matter, and the licentious humour of disputing prevailing to more bitter Controversies; so that at length (as it usually happens amongst Brethren who differ in points of Religion) they fell to Contentions and invective Disputations, the common enemy egging them on on both sides.

And thus the Quarrel being managed with mutual hatred and animosity, the *Anti-Episcopal* Party, or the Jesuits in their name, defame the established Church

Church with Reproaches and ſcandalous Libels; which forced from the Biſhops and Eccleſiaſtical Courts, *Suſpenſions*, *Deprivations*, *Impriſonments*, and *Baniſhments*.

Whereby the Biſhops got hatred, and the Anti-Epiſcoparians pitie; which ended in a Conſpiracy againſt the Hierarchy.

But that ſeverity, though executed according to the preſcript of Law, drew hatred upon the *Prelates*, and made the *Anti-Epiſcoparians* to be pitied, and the rather that they ſeemed to ſuffer for Conſcience-ſake, and the purity of Goſpel-worſhip; being otherwiſe, in appearance, men of ſtrict lives and converſations, zealous Preachers, fervent in Prayer, ready to do pious Offices, and in a word, in all things elſe very good men. And this made many *Towns*, *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* take them into protection, make very much of them, and at length joyns with them in opinion, and conſpire together againſt the *Hierarchy* or Church-government.

Wherein all the Sects and Factions agree, raiſing ſcruples betwixt the K. and Parl. that ſeeming to ſtand up for the Parl. they might be eſteemed popular men, and be choſen to ſerve in Parl. when occaſion offered.

Who deſpairing to procure the abolition of it from the *King*, they hope to compaſs it by Parliament, and therefore they endeavour to leſſen the *Royal* Authority by magnifying a *Parliamentary* power; wherein being aſſiſted by all the other Sects of Fanaticks, the ſeditious and turbulent off-ſcourings of Chriſtians and Subjects, they begin to make a diſtinction betwixt, and divide *the Royal Prerogative* from *the Liberty of the People*, two things that are very conſiſtent together; that laying hold on that pretext, they might ſet up for publick-ſpirited men, and be thought the *Patriots* of the Nation.

Having by this means, at length, raiſed their Authority amongſt the common People, ſo as to be choſen Members of *Parliament*, they ſet all their Engines at work for accompliſhing their intended Project; there is nothing in their mouths but the *Rights of the People*, *Priviledges of Parliament*, and the *publick Liberty*; they lay open to the quick the faults of the *Magiſtrates* and *Courtiers*; in ſcanda-

lous Pamphlets they inveigh againſt *Epiſcopacy* and the eſtabliſhed *government* of the Church; cenſure the Manners and *Pluralities* of Church-men; they expoſe the adminiſtration of publick government; and make it their care and ſtudy, in all things, to weaken the Kings Power, and leſſen his Reputation.

Wherein they cenſure the publick adminiſtration of the Government.

To theſe their cunning contrivances a commodious occaſion happened: Whilſt in the Reign of *King James*, *Frederick* Prince *Palatine of the Rhyne*, the Kings Son-in-law, having been engaged in the *German* War, was, with his whole Family, by the Imperial Forces driven out of his Territories. To defend the Cauſe of the Proteſtant Religion, which ſeemed to be in danger, and to reſtore this baniſhed Prince ſo nearly allied to the King, were made ſpecious pretexts for their following ill deſignes. And by theſe pretences they endeavour but in vain to engage that wiſe *King* in a War, until *Prince Charles* ſeconding their Addreſſes, and the *Emperour* refuſing to agree to reaſonable terms of Peace, he was rouzed up to Arms.

They take occaſion from a War to make diviſion betwixt the K. and Parl.

War being thereupon proclaimed, whilſt preparations were making, and all *Europe* expected great matters from *England*, the *Parliament*, upon I know not what ſlight Grievances, Jealouſies, and Suſpicions, leave the King in the lurch; ſo that unleſs *King Charles*, upon the death of his Father, would make himſelf ridiculous to the World, he was neceſſitated to raiſe money by his own authority, laying on unuſual Taxes and Impoſitions, by virtue not onely of old dormant Laws, but alſo of new interpretations; without calling a Parliament, which is cuſtomary on more urgent occaſions.

The K. being engaged in a War, and fruſtrated of aſſiſtance from the Parl. is neceſſitated without a Parl. to raiſe money.

This incenſed the People, and afforded a plentiful crop of Murmurs and Complaints, and inclined good and honeſt Subjects, who were far from any

This incenſed the people, occaſioned fears & combinations againſt the K.

thoughts

thoughts of Innovations; but alarmed with the fears of *Arbitrary Government*, and the loss of the *Liberty* of the Subject, (as they imagined) to plot and combine with the Factious Malecontents, for curbing the power of the King.

All these *Sects* at first, though differing in opinions and designs, were called by the name of *Puritans*.

During the rage of the Civil War, after that the *Scots* came to the assistance of the Parliament, and many had been nooſed into the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the *Presbyterians* were powerful both in wealth and number, raise their heads above the rest: Nor can they be excused from Rebellion, who having aboliſhed the *Church-government* and *Liturgie*, introduced the *Presbytery* and *Directory* in place thereof, aiming at the change of Civil Government also from *Monarchy* to an *Aristocracy*, though they pretended to retain the name and person of a *King*; and making use of the assistance of the other *Sects* who fought openly under their Banners, though they cunningly concealed their designes.

When the Presbyterians first challenged publickly that name.

Aristocraticks.

Democraticks.

Next came into play the better sort of *Independents*, and some of the Tribe of *Anabaptists*, who wished for no setled National *Church-government*, and who liked a *Democracy* best; yet still retaining the *name and person of a King*. But the chief was a *Faction* most properly so called, consisting of the rigidest sort of *Presbyterians*, and a medly of many other *Fanaticks*, who having destroyed the *Monarchy* and the *Royal* Family root and branch, were, some of them, for an *Oligarchy*, others for *Anarchy*, and most for a *Democracy*; I may also adde a *Christocraty*, that Fifth-monarchy which not a few longed for, wherein worldly *Powers*, *Magistrates*, and all profane Authority being brought down and trodden under foot, *Christ* with his *Saints* might

Oligarchicks.

Christocraticks or Fifth-monarchy-men.

exercise dominion over the wicked and ungodly of the Earth.

Who deserve most the name of Rebels and Traytors.

These are they who are in a more particular sence to be called *Rebels* and *Traytors* to the Government; who, though they all looked different ways, and served in the *Presbyterian* Armies for some time, yet they were the fire-brands that kindled civil Dissensions among them, till getting the power in their hands (into which by degrees they had screwed themselves) they had the boldness to fall off from the rest, set up for themselves in their own hands, and publickly to magnifie their own Atchievements.

The original and artifices,

At first, whilst the clouds of Troubles were but a gathering, these *factious Rebels* were hardly distinguished by any name, but skulk'd under the cloak of *good Patriots* and the *godly Party*. But in the mean time they carefully watched all occasions of blowing up the fire of a Civil War; and so soon as the War flamed out, and the *State* was all in disorder, lest differences might be taken up, they used all arts to make the *King* jealous of his *Parliament*, and the *Parliament* again of the King, every where throwing in Bones of Contention, and, as it is the custom of all *Demagogues*, distracted the thoughts of the giddy and light-headed *Multitude* with jealousies and fears.

Whereby they put all into confusion,

Raise up War.

By this their indefatigable industry in calumniating the *King*, and exposing of him in all things to the hatred of the people, they first alienate the minds of the *Multitude* from their *Prince*, and then from *Peace*. When they observed any Proposals made by the *Parliament* to the *King*, or by the *King* to the *Parliament*, which in probability might heal the wounds of Contention and War, and restore a solid Peace they slily perplex and disturb the Negotiation; when they prosper they swell in their demands

Oppose all Treaties of Peace.

mande, *lest what they had already got by force of Arms, they might seem to acquire precariously and by concession*; but if fortune frowned upon them, then were they for rouzing despondent minds, *That in that condition they would not think of making Peace, when in their low fortune they must of necessity submit to harder Conditions; nor that they would so far abuse the honour of Parliament, as to seem to do any thing through fear or force.* By what Arts:

Nay, and by false Reports, counterfeit Letters, and suborned Witnesses, they pretend to discover strange Plots and monstruous Dangers disguised under the specious mask of Friendship. They adjure others by the bowels of love and pity to the Commonwealth, by their affection to the *publick* and the *Cause of Christ*; and in long Speeches and Arguments plead, *That in carrying on the War they should rather expect to know the will and pleasure of God* (so they thought fit to speak) *in a matter of so great consequence, than to make Peace with the King upon unsure Conditions prejudicial to the Publick.*

The easie and credulous who are apt to suspect any thing, and those also who were conscious of their own guilt, being intangled by these Artifices, they propose so hard Conditions to the *King*, that he could not with a safe conscience, honour, and the safety of his Friends, consent to them; whilst they slighted and rejected his *Majesties* Letters and most just Proposals almost twenty times sent to them.

In the mean time these *good men*, whilst they boast of their extraordinary *zeal* for the *publick Liberty* and the *pure reformed Religion*, making use of the War for their own private advantages, step into the greatest and most profitable places of the *State*. And then having got deeper rooting, by degrees they win upon others, and draw them into the Conspiracy, making great progresses both in the *In the mean time they make their own advantage of the War.* *Their growth.*

the *Parliament* and *Country*; in this, ſtirring up the *Mobile* to prefer *Petitions*, or rather putting the peoples names to *Petitions* framed by two or three of their own Faction; and in the other, by cunning and knavery accommodating the Authority of Parliament to their own arts and devices.

Indefatigable induſtry in the Parliament.

By this means it was no difficult matter, either at midnight or early in the morning, when the other *Members* that differed them appeared not, or were abſent about their own private affairs, to ſnatch an opportunity of carrying things by vote, and to lay hold on occaſion by the forelock; ſo that the leſs, but more vigilant part, by degrees circumvented the greater, but leſs ſedulous.

If any thing were moved in Parliament that they would not have paſs, or which at a diſtance they foreſaw might be hurtful to their practices, they vigorouſly oppoſed it, or by ſhams, evaſions, ſcruples ſtarted in the heat of debate, and the like arts, got it put off till another time. If the greater number of Voices were againſt them, they brought in ſome other Bill over head and ſhoulders, that might invalidate the former, and elude the intention thereof. If they contrived any thing that might give ſuſpicion to their Adverſaries, or that they deſpaired to obtain in a full *Houſe*, they ſend the *Presbyterians* of an Errand into the Country, either about real and urgent buſineſs, or feigned neceſſities: In the unavoidable abſence, or ſupine neglect of whom, they got any thing voted and paſt with a *nemine contradicente*.

And in Cabals.

Nor did their private Clubs and Cabals a little promote their deſignes; where having laid their heads together, they took their beſt meaſures before hand, how they ſhould behave themſelves in publick, and what Province every one was to undertake.

By

By theſe and ſuch-like arts, that branch of the *Rebels* being advanced to no ſmall power, and ſeparated (as we ſaid before) from the *Presbyterians*, under the name of *Independents*, who would have no *Head*, make head againſt them. This *Title* did well quadrate to all the other *Sects* in general, and was uſed by them, becauſe depending on the government of no *National Church*, nor Civil Power, they ordered all things relating to *Doctrine* and *Church-Diſcipline* in their private *Congregations*. Not that moſt part of them had any concern for Religion, but that that ſpecious Profeſſion giving a comprehenſive latitude to all *Sects*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, *Millenaries*, and all other *Fanaticks*, they might ſwell the number and power of their *Faction*; whom others, in deriſion, called the *Holy Brethren*, a name they themſelves affected. *Having got into power, they take the title of* Independents.

Nevertheleſs, that they might enlarge their Party, and by a hypocritical humanity and readineſs to condeſcend hook in the good will of many, they ſollicitouſly ſtrike in with men of all Perſwaſions, and by allurements ſuitable to their tempers, feel their *Pulſes*: To the *godly* they promiſe *Reformation* of Divine Worſhip; ſweeten the *Preachers* with the hopes of the Revenues of the *Biſhops*, *Deans*, and *Chapters*, and of eſtabliſhing *Presbytery* by Law, allowing ſtill liberty to *tender Conſciences*; do really grant indemnity to *Hereticks* and Schiſmaticks; draw in the *Ambitious* by honour and titles; feeding the *Covetous* with money under the notion of Penſions or Rewards for good ſervices: they threaten the *Obnoxious*; protect Malefactors; and in a word, no man reſolutely oppoſed them, but was by Emiſſaries and Spies, whom they had in all places, Letters intercepted, miſinterpreted words and actions, brought into ſuſpicion and danger. Whoever they admitted into their friendſhip and ſervice, though the *They enlarge their Party by complying with the humours of all men.* *They proſecute their oppoſers.*

Protect all ſorts of men.

the moſt infamous and flagitious wretch living, yet in all things they protected him; and amongſt others, the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons*, who being a man for their turn, when he was accuſed of *Bribery*, they brought him off, gave him money and gain'd him to their Party, as one that would be no leſs ſerviceable to them for all that, and the more faithful to their Party, as he was the more obnoxious and guilty.

Try to bring over the E. of Eſſex *and other Nobles to their Party.*

They tamper alſo with the *Earl of Eſſex*, who being dejected by his defeat in *Cornwall*, they thought might be grown more tractable; and therefore they put it to him, if he would for the future be for a down-right Commonwealth. Upon which condition they promiſe, *To put him at the head of a new Army, to be payed monthly, and ſupplied with Ammunition and all neceſſary Proviſions.* But he refuſing, it was ſaid, that the ſame Conditions were privately offered to other *Noblemen*; not that they had any reſpect for the *Lords*, whom ſhortly they intended to turn out and to level with the Commoners, but that they might poyſon them with their own venom, and riſe to greater authority by drawing more over to their ſide. But they being of a contrary mind, and more inclinable to the *Kings* Party, no ſooner rejected the offers, but the Rebels caſt their eyes upon another.

But in vain.

Under pretext of the Self-denying Ordinance, *they over-reach the Presbyterians, deprive them of all Places Civil and Military;*

By a new and ſpecious Ordinance, whereby they ſaid they would reform the Parliament, and reſtore it to its integrity, to which they gave the title of the *Self-denying Ordinance*; they clipt the Presbyterians wings, and confirmed their own ſtrength. For by this *Ordinance* it was provided, that none of either Houſe, after a limited day, ſhould bear any Office Military or Civil; whereby it was brought about that many of the emulous Faction were obliged to reſigne the places they held.

This

This gives them a fair opportunity of altering the whole *Civil State*, and *new modelling* the Army, as they called it; to the administration of which, the *Candidates* of that Faction are for the most part preferred: nor could some *Republican Lords* long refrain from the ambition of the rest, hunting after all opportunities of Preferment, and turning the *Self-denying Ordinance* into an *Act* of pure *Self-love*. *Woich they & their Adherents invade.*

Essex, who suited not so well with their temper, being laid aside, they give the command of the Army to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, onely Son to *Ferdinand Lord Fairfax*, a valiant man indeed, and of a good natural disposition, but easie and forward to undertake and execute any thing that he was put upon, as a fine Tool to work the effect which was designed by the hand that managed it; wherefore he was the more readily chosen by both Parties. To him they joyn *Cromwel* with the Title of *Lieutenant-General*, but with intention of being his *Governour*; by whom some *Officers* at first desired onely to be commanded for a time, though afterwards, contrary to the intent of the *Self-denying Ordinance*, they were established and commissionated by authority of *Parliament*. This last having wholly run out his Estate, which was not very great, resolved to trade in Religion for repairing his broken Fortune, and for that end became the Ringleader and Stickler for the Schismaticks: and by means of these he was chosen a *Member* of *Parliament*. Would you see him painted to the life in his natural colours, and such as his own Party have drawn him in, in their publick Writings? *He was a great Master in Hypocrisie and Dissimulation, who lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and laying his hand upon his breast, would invoke the Name of God, weep, pray, and lament his sins, till he stabb'd him he spoke to, under the fifth rib.* *New Commanders of the Army*, Fairfax. Cromwel.

rib. I mention not his Ambition, Avarice, and Pride, which the *Republicans*, who were before his *Brethren* and *Companions*, afterwards openly charged him with.

Colonels, Captains, &c. Schismaticks.

The Colonels, Captains, and inferiour Officers, are for the most part chosen from among the Schismaticks, or those that were no great enemies unto them. In the mean while *Cromwel*'s Son-in-law, and his other Relations and Friends, have the chief Commands in the Army bestowed upon them.

Their industry.

These, having got so fair an opportunity, did not trifle away their time, but were busie in all places, running up and down, exhorting and sometimes preaching to the Souldiers, that they might gain their affection; by whose favourable assistance they make way for themselves to be elected into the vacant places in the *House of Commons*. For when the Freeholders and Inhabitants of *Corporations* were about by a free election to chuse new *Burgesses* in place of the dead or excluded Members, with Souldiers in Arms they were forced through fear to chuse the Officers of the Army, or such at least as they approved of. So that in a short time many of these being admitted into the Parliament-house, and the *Self-denying Ordinance* being laid aside, all Offices and Affairs, both Civil and Military, were managed by the self-same persons.

To get men of their Party into the Parl.

And celebrating their mighty deeds.

And that popular applause and fame might not be wanting to celebrate their excellent undertakings, *hackney* Presses and *mercenary* Scriblers are set a work to publish all their actions with wonderful *Encomiums* and *Elegies*, which in weekly *Mercuries* and *Peny Diaries*, are exposed to the perusal of the Newsgreedy people, and every line swollen with the praises of *Cromwel*.

So soon as they perceived the *Royal* interest almost

most reduced to a pinch, and the Parliament-Rebels in a manner secure of victory, they bend their designs against the *Presbyterians*, their rival Faction; which, though predominant in number of *Voices*, yet began to totter and shake.

They more openly attack the Presbyterians,

They endeavour to lessen their Reputation, and by degrees to weaken their Force; publish *Libels* to disgrace and ridicule the *Church-Discipline*, enveighing against the right of *Tythes*, and the *avarice*, pride, and severity of the *Preachers*.

By publishing defamatory Writings against them,

Nay, and that they might heap more hatred upon their heads, they charge them, who of their own accords too officiously hastened to bring all into confusion and disorder, with the more rigid parts of Reformation that were most ungrateful to the people; such, as to press their Covenant with rigour upon those that refused to take it, exact Fines, squeeze money from the people, and (that they might entail infamy upon them to Posterity) under colour of visiting *Colledges*, to banish the most learned men out of the *Universities*. Upon pretext of friendship they steal into all the *Presbyterian* Cabals, that by raising scruples and delays, their Consultations might turn to Smoak, and themselves be exposed to publick Derision.

And setting them upon duties that were ungrateful to the people;

Mingling themselves in their Cabals,

Having pretty well succeeded in this, they resolve to go thorough-stitch with it, by turning out of the government of *Garrison-towns* and *Forts* all those who declared for Presbytery. They likewise cause all the Forces that were almost in every County, though but in small numbers, to be disbanded, except the Army commanded by *Fairfax*. They send the *Scots* home out of *England*: by bribes or fear they draw over the leading-men amongst the *Presbyterians*, that they would either openly own their Cause; or secretly under the name and badge of *Presbyterians*, diving into their secrets, usefully and

Turning them out of governments.

Disbanding the Forces that befriended them, dismissing the Scots, and drawing over the Ringleaders to their Party.

and securely serve the ends of the *Republicans*; amongst whom the two chief were, *Philip Skippon*, and *Stephen Marshal*, the first Major-General of the Army; and the other a *Minister*, and the Oracle of the *Presbyterians*: both cunning Knaves, who under pretext of moderating and reconciling differences, minded their own advantages, fooled the *Presbyterians*, and not a little promoted the affairs of the *Independents*.

Philip Skippon and Stephen Marshal.

The series of the History is again continued.

The Presbyterians still prevailing in the Parl. they resolve to lessen and divide the Army.

The *Presbyterians* having made sure of Victory, and, which is more, of the King, and being as yet more numerous in both *Houses*, are now in greater fear from their own *Servants* the *Army in pay*, than heretofore from the enemy; and being sollicitous how to rid themselves from that Yoke, after much debate, they appoint, *That for easing the Country of charges, twelve thousand of them should be sent over into* Ireland, *the rest to be disbanded, except six thousand Horse, two thousand Dragoons, and six thousand Foot.*

These to be carried over by *Skippon* into *Ireland*, and *those* under the command of *Fairfax* to be divided into the several Counties of the Kingdom, with intent, as they said, *They might be in a readiness to stifle all Tumults in the bud, and that they themselves being in a body together, might not attempt any Innovations.*

The Souldiers mutiny, the Officers secretly applauding them, though vexed in shew, who (the seditions succeeding to their mind) joyn with them.

Many *Officers* and all the private Souldiers that were *Sectarians*, smelling a far off that by that trick they would be wormed out of the power which they had got, and the Military authority fall wholly into the hands of the *Presbyterians*, put the rest of the Souldiers in fear that they were to be disbanded without their Pay, or all transported into *Ireland*, there to be consumed with labour, sickness, hunger, and nakedness.

Hence the *Souldiers* began to mutiny, object their little Reasons to the contrary, and at length to break

break out into Sedition. The *Officers* in the mean time pretended to shew to be angry at these things, to repress, and by all means resist the mutinous *common Souldiers*; but secretly they encourage them in the business, and industriously foment their fury. And the Sedition succeeding according to their wishes, they lay aside the Mask, withdraw from *London* to head the *Mutineers* in the Camp, and all together enter into a Confederacy against the *Parliament*; amongst whom *Cromwel* was the chief, who lately, calling God to witness, had professed, *That he was certain the Souldiers would at the first word of command throw down their Arms at the Parliaments feet*; and had solemnly sworn, *That he rather wished himself and whole Family burnt, than that the Army should break out into Sedition.* And so they turn out of place about an hundred Captains and Officers, who chose rather to be true to the Parliament, than to enter into that Confederacy.

Cromwel among the first.

They who were true to the Parl. being disbanded.

The private Souldiers had opportunity to begin this attempt by means of the *Adjutators*. These, by connivance of the Officers, were chosen two out of every Regiment of Horse and Foot, and had power from their fellow-Souldiers to keep Councils, judge what was fit to be done for the common good, and by Spies dispersed through all quarters and Garrisons inform the rest.

This they attempt by means of the Adjutators.

These Adjutators at length usurp the authority of Colonels, not thinking it enough to have meetings amongst themselves, but in Councils of War challenge place amongst the principal Officers; nor barely concerning themselves in the interest of the private Souldiers, they meddle in the ordering and government of the whole Army; and not onely so, but bestir themselves also in the affairs of the whole People, as well of *England* as *Ireland*, and in reforming the government of both; the chief Officers,

till the *Parliament* was by their mutual Conspiracy ruined, scarcely muttering against it.

They designe a Commonwealth.

These men have nothing in their mouths but the *Liberty* and *Power* of the People, and professedly labour to erect a *Democracy*, giving being, birth, and name to a popular *Commonwealth*, another sort of *Republick*.

They carry away the King out of the Parliaments custody; sooth him with fair promises and kind Offices.

The Souldiers grown thus insolent and bold, stand not in awe to seize and carry away the *King* out of the *Parliaments* custody, who upon the treacherous discovery of a certain *Earl*, they understood was by the Captain of the Guard, with full authority, to be brought to *London*; and having done so, they endeavour to please him with officious and flattering promises of greater liberty and freedom, and more dutiful usage; pretending to lament his condition, as being by the severity of the *Parliament*, in a manner, buried alive within his own Palace, as in a Prison, deprived of the company of his Friends and Servants; *Professing* (which to them was more than an Oath) *that they would never lay down their Arms until they had put the Scepter into his hands, and procured better Conditions for his Friends.*

They allow him the assistance of his Chaplains, the exercise of his Religion, and a free correspondence with the Queen, by Messengers and Letters, without any examination. His *Royal Children* were likewise suffered to visit him, that so far at least he might seem to be at home, and to enjoy the dearest part of his Kingdom. In so much, that the Camp seemed to be transformed into the Court, whilst his *Majesties* domestick Servants return with joy to their Master, and *Courtiers* increase daily in number.

And that they may seem to be serious in treating with the *King* about the setling of affairs, they frame Propositions, whereby they gave it out, That things

things were contrived to the beſt for the intereſt of his *Majeſty*, of *themſelves*, and of the *Publick*; to which if the *King* would condeſcend, they engage on their parts immediately to reſtore him to the height of *Royal Majeſty*. When afterwards the King liked them not as they were propoſed by their Commiſſioners, they ſoften them, and made as if they had almoſt accommodated them to the intentions of the *King*; nay, one or two of his *Majeſties* Servants, whenſoever they had a mind to it, were permitted to be preſent in their Councils of War.

They frame Propoſitions whereby they would provide for the intereſt of the King, of themſelves, and of the Publick; and ſoften them for the Kings ſake.

In the mean time they publiſh Declarations and Remonſtrances to the diſhonour of the *Parliament*; accuſe them of Covetouſneſs, Selfiſhneſs, Ambition, Injuſtice, Cruelty, and Tyranny; demand their Arrears; accuſe eleven able *Commoners*, and as many *Peers* of the contrary Faction, of *High-Treaſon*, and having brought frivolous Articles againſt them, they urge, that being excluded the Houſe, they may be brought to a Tryal. They deſire, nay command, that the preſent *Parliament* be within a prefixed time diſſolved, foreſeeing that to be the onely way whereby they might hope to gratifie the People, and that a new and better Parliament ſhould be called in place of it, thereby to flatter the hopes of wretched Sufferers.

By Declarations they envy againſt the Parliament. Accuſe ſeveral Members of Treaſon.

Command the Parl. to be diſſolved.

It is not to be denied, but that they propoſed many uſeful things, that they might cajole the people; wherein they never forgot, ſometimes obliquely, and ſometimes alſo directly to ſpeak in favour of the King; and that to this purpoſe: *That the King, Queen, and Royal Family be reſtored to their juſt Rights, without which, they cry, no ſolid Peace can be expected.* Yet for the moſt part they play faſt and looſe by Conditions annexed, or ambiguous words, ſo that afterward they might eaſily extricate themſelves from theſe Promiſes, provided they had the

They propoſe uſeful things to the people, and pretend to mind the K.'s intereſt;

But in ambiguous words.

luck to get the better of the *Presbyterians*.

They march against the Parliament.

But when the *Parliament* thought it neither honourable nor safe to comply with these military demands, the Army inverting now the *Cause*, declare for the *King* and *People*, and march against the Parliament.

The Parl. prepares for defence.

On the other hand, the *Parliament* with the *Londoners* prepare for a defence, and vote that the King should be invited to *London*, the people in a manner forcing them to it, who with importunate Petitions and Clamours, thundred tumultuously in *Westminster*-hall.

But the Speakers of both Houses, with many Members flying to the Camp, the Citizens are appeased upon the fair promises of the Army;

In the mean time the *Speakers* of both *Houses*, with about fifty Members, partly *Aristocraticks*, and partly *Democraticks*, privily flie from *London* and betake themselves to the Camp, in great consternation, pretending violence offered unto them by their fellow-Members, Citizens, and some disbanded Souldiers, and demand reparation by Arms: yet all this while they left others of their own stamp behind them in the *Parliament*, that might blow the Coals, and disappoint the Councils of the rest.

The Citizens, who like men in an Ague after a burning heat, fall presently into a shaking cold, were easily appeased by the fair promises of the Army, *That the King should be restored* (which was their onely desire) *the Parliament dissolved, and publick Peace and Justice setled.* But the Country-people, who heretofore were in a readiness to flock to the assistance of *London*, were now equally disgusted both with the *Citizens* and Parliament, as those who having first kindled the War, were still unwilling to put out the flame, and seemed to be the onely men that shut their Gates against Peace that was ready to return into the Kingdom. What's now to be done? The *Parliament* desponds; and the officious Citizens, who were for the Army and Faction, open the Gates, and without any previous

And without any previous Articles, open their Gates to the Souldiers.

Arti-

Articles, namely deliver up the City to the mercy of the *Souldiers*.

Upon this the fugitive *Members* are with no ſmall pomp inſtantly reſtored to their places. The accuſed *Presbyterians* flie; and ſome, as it is uſual, temporizing, ſtrike in with the victorious Party, and the reſt loſe courage. From that time forward the Hiſtory of the Evils they had done, is to be read in thoſe they ſuffer. Some of the *Members* of the *Houſe of Commons*, the *Mayor* alſo, and many chief Citizens being committed to the Tower, ſmart for their late fear and cowardiſe in abandoning the ſafety of their *fellow-Citizens*, and their former obſtinacy and inſolence againſt the *King*. Seven or eight *Lords* accuſed of Treaſon, are caſt into Priſon; but afterward the heat of Emulation by little and little cooling, and being almoſt quite over, the Priſoners, without any Indictments brought againſt them, are diſcharged from their loathſome Priſons, to be an example to others, not to preſume hereafter to reſiſt. Nor could this ſatisfie them, unleſs alſo to ſhew their ſtrength, and the continence and diſcipline of the Souldiers, the *Commanders* of the Army led their men with Artillery and Ammunition, as in triumph over the Citizens, through the chief ſtreets of *London*.

The fugitive Members are reſtored; the accuſed Presbyterians flie; others temporize, all loſe courage.

Some Commoners, *the Mayor and Leading-men of the City, with ſome Lords, are clapt up in Priſon.*

When the Army had now maſtered the two ſtrong Forts of the *Kingdom*, the *Parliament* and the City of *London*, being doubly victorious over their friends and enemies, there remained no more to be done, but how they might at their leiſure ſettle and confirm themſelves in the Power which now they had obtained. The Lieutenant and Garriſon of the *Tower of London*, are choſen out of the dregs of the Citizens; but ſuch as had obbilitated themſelves by being Slaves to the Faction; the old *Lieutenant* with the accuſtomed Garriſon being turned

A new Lieutenant & Garriſon are put into the Tower of London.

out for no other fault, but that he favoured the *Presbyterians*. The *Commissioners* who had the power of ordering the whole Army, as also the *Colonels*, *Captains*, and other *Officers*, are forced to turn out, to make way for men of a new mould.

The Colonels and Officers of the Army changed.

The Posts and Chains of the City being pulled down.

But some may think that it was overdoing, that when the Citizens had long ago laid aside their Arms and their resolution, yet the Works and Fortifications of the City should be demolished, under pretext that the Kingdom was now in Peace; and then the Posts and Chains in the streets removed, that the *Horse* might have freer passage into all the corners of the Town, and no hold left to the Citizens and the women from which they might in probability kick.

A popular Republican is set over the Fleet.

Moreover, that they might establish their Government both by Sea and Land, *Rainsborough*, the Bell-weather of the *Republicans*, is set over the Fleet. *Fairfax* is appointed General of the Forces not onely in *England*, but in *Ireland* also, *that that Country might the more speedily be succoured.*

Fairfax *made General of the Forces both in* England *and* Ireland.

Thanks are given to the Army,

The *Army* has the thanks not onely of the Parliament and of the Ministers from the Pulpit, but likewise of the honest Citizens, who now entertain and feast in their houses the very men whom a little before they intended to drive from their Walls.

And Pay.

A months Pay besides, as a token of kindness, is appointed for the Souldiers, for their good services to the *Parliament.*

It's long in suspence to what side the Parl. should adhere.

It was for a long time hotly disputed to which side the *Parliament* should adhere, whether the Acts of the Army or *Parliament* ought to be annulled, since both of them, according to the different number of Voices, had by turns been rescinded; and being uncertain how to get out of that Labyrinth, that the Parliament might not seem to be interrupted, or force put upon them whereby their autho-

rity would be weakened, or that they might seem to approve the right of changing sides, which they had long ago condemned in the *Members* that followed the *King*. They are now for both, by and by again for either of the two, and of a sudden again for neither. However, they resolve that the separation of the flying *Members*, and their conjunction with the Army is altogether to be approved, as being lawfully done for the publick good.

The flight of the Members of Parl. is approved.

By which successes the *Commanders of the Army* and Ring leaders of the *Faction*, were so puft up, that they quite forgot their old Friends and fellow-Souldiers. There was no more mention now of dissolving the Parliament, calling a new one, nor of the Promises whereby they had so often imposed upon the *King* and *People*. All their care is to mind their own advantage, and how to settle that *Oligarchy*, which now they seemed to be in possession of.

The Rebels having got the power into their hands, forget the K. some being for an Oligarchy, *and others for* Democracy.

But the *Adjutators* and all the popular Republicans are no less busie and sollicitous to have that Parliament dissolved, and a new one, under the name of a *Representative* by the free election of the People, called, with a limitation of their power and time of sitting, that so they might introduce a *Democracy*.

Both Parties being out of dread of the *Presbyterians*, equally conspire the ruine of the *King* and *Monarchy*.

All conspire against Monarchy and the K.

It had been long before privately proposed amongst some, to assassinate the King, whilst he was in the *Scottish Army*; that they might at the same time glut their malice, and throw the *odium* of the fact upon the *Scots*. Afterwards one *Rolf* a Shoemaker, instigated by some, armed himself for the *Regicide*. That Fellow being informed that the King intended to make his escape out of a window

Whose murder they plot; some privately,

when he was in the Isle of *Wight*, lay in wait with a Musket several nights, that he might shoot him as by accident.

Others by a Council of War.

But now several fiercely urge, that he should be forthwith and secretly dispatched, or at least that being condemned by a Council of War, he should be beheaded.

Some under pretext of a Parliamentary Authority.

But it seemed more generous and safe to the *leading Rebels* to protract time, and manage the matter gradually by wiles and crafty fetches, until being countenanced by a colour of *Authority*, they might, under a form of *satisfying publick Justice*, perpetrate the matchless Villany. And thus they ordered it. Conditions of Peace were to be proposed to the King, but such, as if he consented to them, he himself would renounce the *Crown*: and if he refused, he would be deposed by the Votes of others; and so be, over and above, reckoned obstinate by the people; which would give them a more specious pretext for accomplishing their designe.

To which they make way gradually, sending Propositions to the K. with a pretence of peace, but in reality to find a cause of accusing him:

For this end it is contrived and obtained, that the *Parliament* should again send to the *King Propositions*, but such as were rather imperious and hard Commands, than Conditions of Peace to be treated about, which being granted, he would pluck off his *Crown* with his own hands. To which, though the Commanders of the Army and *Cromwel* in the first place, had given their Votes in the Parliament; yet in the *Camp* they advised the King not to condescend to them, promising that they would either obtain or command more reasonable Conditions for him; and seemed to detest those as proceeding from the hautiness and severity of the Presbyterians.

Which, though the Commanders of the Army had procured in Parliament in the Camp they perswaded the K. not to condescend to them.

The K. makes answer to the Parl. proposals.

His *Majesty* being deluded by that artifice, makes answer to this purpose: *That the Propositions were such*

ſuch, as he could not in honour and conſcience conſent to them, being ſuch as could not reconcile all intereſts, nor ſettle a laſting Peace in the Kingdom: He appeals rather to the Propoſals of the Army, as much more conducing [to the ſatisfaction of all intereſts, and a fit ſubject for a perſonal conference betwixt himſelf and the two Houſes (which he earneſtly deſired;) for which cauſe his Majeſty would have Commiſſioners from the Army admitted.

Appeals to the Demands of the Army, as more conducing to peace.

Cromwel and the reſt of the Commanders of the Army were extreamly well ſatisfied with this Anſwer, as if the King himſelf gave greater honour to the *Army* than to the Parliament; and therefore on their parts they promiſe all good Offices to his *Majeſty.*

Whereat Cromwel *and the Commanders ſeem to rejoyce.*

In the mean time they take all courſes to incenſe the reſt againſt the King, pretending themſelves much aſhamed that they could not perform all they promiſed; and excuſe themſelves ſometimes becauſe of the reverence that was due to the Parliament, and ſometimes again becauſe of the peremptorineſs of the *Adjutators:* at length they began to juggle and quite fall off, to give a contrary ſence to their promiſes, and to ſuggeſt apprehenſions to the *King*, as if the *Adjutators* and *Republicans* deſigned his *Majeſties* death, whoſe inſolent attempts they could not moderate nor at preſent repreſs; mingling with all, promiſes that if they could cut the combs of the *Adjutators*, and reſtore the loſt Diſcipline of the Army, they would without delay perform what they had undertaken.

But from thence labour to incenſe the reſt of the Members againſt him.

They juggle with the K. putting him by turns in hope and fear.

With which his Majeſty being moved, (ſeeing it was worſe to diſtruſt than to be deceived) he privately made his eſcape from the Army, and (as fate would have it) fled to the Iſle of *Wight*, the government of which (as it ſeems probable) was juſt before put into the hands of *Colonel Hammond* a dear

At which his Majeſty being moved, makes his eſcape to the Iſle of Wight.

dear friend to *Cromwel*, that there he might play his part in this business. To this mans protection the *King* commits himself, running of his own accord into the Snare which the *Rebels* had long ago laid for him.

From thence he speedily writes to the Parl. sending also Concessions;

But that he might not be wanting to the publick whilst the *Parliament* were at a stand, wondering whither he might have fled, his Majesty wrote to them, sending therewith Concessions that were too easie and great to be expected, or indeed to be wished for by any; adding thereto invincible Arguments, why he could not consent to the Proposals lately sent him by the Parliament. He proposes his own *Concessions* and the *Demands* of the Army, as a fit subject for a personal Treaty: and for the sake of the People and Kingdom, earnestly desires it, *being willing on his own part to condescend to any thing, that by any means he might procure Peace and Tranquillity to his languishing Kingdoms.*

Upon which he demands a Treaty with the Parl.

Thus the Rebels *oppose and take occasion of asking Demands preliminary to the Treaty.*

The *Republicans* of both sorts, as well they that were for a *few*, as for a *many-headed* Commonwealth, endeavouring by all means to put a stop to the Peace proposed and offered by the *King*, take hereby occasion to oppose to his Majesties most just desires, four unreasonable Demands, as preliminary cautions, which if his Majesty would consent to, they promise to treat about the rest.

I. *That the Parliament should have power to raise, settle and maintain the Forces by Sea and Land, within the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *&c. without the Kings consent; it being declared High-Treason for any other, to the number of thirty, to meet together without the authority of Parliament.*

II. *That it should be lawful to the two Houses to sit and adjourn themselves when and where they pleased.*

III. *That all Oaths, Declarations, Proclamations,*

and

and other proceedings againſt either Houſe of Parliament during the War, ſhould be declared void and nulled.

IV. *That all Titles and Honour of Peerage conferred on any by the King ſince his Majeſty left the Parliament, and ſince the great Seal was carried away, ſhould be declared void. All theſe things they demand that the King would conſent might be paſt into Law; if not, that things muſt remain as they were.*

In the mean time the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners who were then at *London*, give in their Reaſons in writing againſt theſe Demands; and when, nevertheleſs, they ſaw that they were ſent to the King, they proteſt againſt them in his Majeſties preſence, as being flatly oppoſite to Religion, the *Crown*, and the Agreements made betwixt the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. *Which the* Scots *oppoſe both in Parl. and before the King.*

What can the *King* do to get out of theſe ſtreights? If he grant the Demands, he voluntarily reſigues up the Government; and if he refuſe, he muſt be depoſed with the ignominious brand of *Obſtinacy*.

The King though wanted neither greatneſs of Soul nor Wiſdom, and therefore ſends preſently back an Anſwer: *That the neceſſity of complying with all engaged intereſts in theſe great diſtempers for a perfect ſettlement of Peace, his Majeſty finds to be none of the leaſt difficulties he hath met with ſince the time of his afflictions; which is no viſible, when at the ſame time that the two Houſes of the Engliſh Parliament do preſent to his Majeſty ſeveral Bills and Propoſitions for his conſent, the Commiſſioners for* Scotland *do openly proteſt againſt them: ſo that were nothing in the caſe but the conſideration of that difference, his Majeſty cannot imagine how to give ſuch an anſwer to what is now propoſed, as thereby to promiſe himſelf his great end,* A Perfect Peace. *And when his Majeſty farther conſiders* *The King anſwers.*

how

how impoſſible it is (in the condition he now ſtands) to fulfil the deſires of his two Houſes, ſince the onely ancient and known ways of paſſing Laws, are either by his Majeſties perſonal aſſent in the Houſe of Peers, or by Commiſſion under his great Seal of England; *he cannot but wonder at ſuch failings in the manner of addreſs which is now made unto him, unleſs his two Houſes intend that his Majeſty ſhall allow of a great Seal made without his authority, before there be any conſideration had thereupon in a Treaty; which as it may hereafter hazard the ſecurity it ſelf, ſo for the preſent it ſeems very unreaſonable to his Majeſty. And though his Majeſty is willing to believe that the intention of very many of both Houſes, in ſending thoſe Bills before a Treaty, was onely to obtain a Truſt from him, and not to take any advantage by paſſing them, to force other things from him, which are either againſt his conſcience or honour; yet his Majeſty believes it's clear to all underſtandings, that theſe Bills contain (as they are now penned) not onely the diveſting himſelf of all Soveraignty, and that without poſſibility of recovering it either to him or his Succeſſors, (except by repeal of theſe Bills) but alſo the making his Conceſſions guilty of the greateſt preſſures that can be made upon the Subject, as in other particulars, ſo by giving an arbitrary and unlimited power to the two Houſes for ever, to raiſe and levy for Land and Sea-ſervice, of what perſons (without diſtinction and quality) and to what numbers they pleaſe; and likewiſe for the payment of the Arrears, to levy what moneys, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch ways and means (and by conſequence upon the Eſtates of whatſoever perſons) as they ſhall think fit and appoint; which is utterly inconſiſtent with the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and his Majeſties truſt in protecting them; ſo that if the major part of both Houſes ſhall think it neceſſary to put the reſt of the Propoſitions into Bills, his Majeſty leaves the world to judge how unſafe*

ſafe it would be for him to conſent thereunto; and if not, what a ſtrange condition (after paſſing thoſe four Bills) his Majeſty and all his Subjects would be caſt into. And here his Majeſty thinks it not unfit to wiſh his two Houſes to conſider well of the manner of their proceeding; that when his Majeſty deſires a perſonal Treaty with them for the ſetling of a Peace, they in anſwer propoſe the very ſubject matter of the moſt eſſential part thereof to be firſt granted; a thing which will be hardly credible to Poſterity: Wherefore his Majeſty declares, that neither the deſire of being freed from this tedious and irkſome condition of life his Majeſty hath ſo long ſuffered, nor the apprehenſion of what ſhall befal him in caſe his two Houſes ſhall not afford him a perſonal Treaty, ſhall make him change his reſolution of not conſenting to any Act, till the whole be concluded. Yet then he intends not onely to give full and reaſonable ſatisfaction in the particulars preſented to him; but alſo to make good all other Conceſſions mentioned in his Meſſage of the 16th of Novemb. *laſt, which he thought would have produced better effects than what he finds in the Bills and Propoſitions now preſented unto him.*

And yet his Majeſty cannot give over, but now again earneſtly preſſeth for a perſonal Treaty, (ſo paſſionately is he affected with the advantages which Peace will bring to his Majeſty and all his Subjects) of which he will not at all deſpair, (there being no other viſible way to obtain a well-grounded Peace). However, his Majeſty is very much at eaſe within himſelf, for having fulfilled the offices both of a Chriſtian and a King; and will patiently wait the good pleaſure of Almighty God, to incline the hearts of his two Houſes to conſider their King, and compaſſionate their fellow-Subjects miſeries.

The King having delivered this Anſwer ſealed up, to be carried to the *Parliament*, the *Earl of D.* who hankered too much after the *Oligarchick Republicans*,

publicans, desired it to be opened again, that the *Commissioners* might be acquainted with what they brought back, as he said, was fitting, they being *Commissioners* and not *Posts* or *Couriers*; (though no such thing was contained in their publick instructions) he having past his promise that no prejudice should therefrom accrew to the King.

Is confined to close imprisonment.

But so soon as the King, to satisfie them, had read over his Answer himself, without any respect had to their faith and promise, they confine the best of *Princes* to closer imprisonment in *Carisbrough* Castle, where then he was: They put from him all his Servants, except some new comers and enemies whom they placed about his person rather in derision, and as a Guard, than for attending and serving him. And that he might not have the use of the least bit of Paper secretly conveyed to him by any Messenger, they set *Sentinels* at all the entries, at the doors and windows of his Chamber.

The Oligarchick *Commanders reduce the* Democraticks *to order, and restore Military Discipline.*

The *Oligarchick Rebels*, *Cromwel* and the other Commanders of the Army being resolved to pursue their designe, the Kings Answer wrought no good effect in the Parliament; yet the emulation of the *Democratick Republicans*, and of the Adjutators, for some time put a stop to their proceedings. That they might suppress this *Party*, of whom they had now enough, a general muster of the Forces is appointed, amongst whom one whole Regiment having got the *Democratical Propositions*, which they termed the *Ordinance* of the People, put into writing, they carried the Paper as a signal in their hats; the *Oligarchick Republicans* by their sollicitations had gained one or two Regiments; and the rest of the Army consisted of both Parties promiscuously jumbled together. The *chief Commanders* who were of the first (as the *inferiour* were of the other Party) drawing together into a ring, they command

mand the private Souldiers to throw away their Paper-ſignals; which when they refuſed to do, according as they had laid the deſigne, they break in amongſt them, and pulling out ſome of the moſt lawcy fellows of the Regiment, they cauſe them preſently to be ſhot to death; which made the reſt throw away their Badges, and ſubmit to the pleaſure of the Generals.

This danger being over, they began to publiſh the villany they had ſo long concealed, to rail openly againſt the King in the *Houſe*, make Speeches, exhort the other *Members*, and to contrive four *Interdicts* rather than Votes: whereby,

They openly rail againſt the King.

1. *It is reſolved, That the Lords and Commons do declare that they will make no further Addreſſes or Applications to the King.*

And paſs a Vote of none Addreſſes to the King.

2. *That no Application or Addreſs be made to the King by any perſon whatſoever, without leave of both Houſes.*

3. *That the perſon or perſons that ſhall make breach of this Order, ſhall incur the penalties of High-Treaſon.*

4. *That the Lords and Commons do declare, that they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King to both or either Houſes of Parliament, or to any other perſon.*

But neither were theſe carried in the Houſe of Commons, without tricks and the uſual artifices. For before any mention was made of theſe Propoſitions in the *Houſe*, fourty or fifty leading-men, who for the moſt part would have withſtood thoſe attempts, are ſent into their ſeveral Counties upon pretext of raiſing money to pay off the Souldiers, that by their abſence, fewer oppoſing, and the greater part of the Houſe being packt, the matter might be eaſily carried. Nevertheleſs, this execrable motion (made to the ſcandal of mankind) of

But ſurreptitiouſly in the Lower Houſe;

abju-

abjuring their King, was debated to and again, from ten in the morning until seven at night, and had not, after all, found the Votes rather tired out than perswaded, unless the chief of the *Oligarchick* Party had given them hopes that they would attempt nothing worse against the *King*. The three last Votes past in the space of half an hour with much precipitation, whilst the *Factious* got into the places of the dissenting *Members*, who had withdrawn out of the House to take a little refreshment.

By force and threats in the Upper House.

However, the *Upper House* was more hardly brought over to an assent: for there the Debate lasted many days, until *Commissioners* coming from the Army upon pretext of thanking the Lower House for those Votes, and protesting the Army would protect the *Commons* therein, threatned the *Lords* if they persisted to oppose them, and shortly after, whilst they still delayed, forced them out of fear to consent, two Regiments of Souldiers being sent into *Westminster-hall*, under colour of a Guard to the Lower House; but in reality to awe the dissenting Lords. This having terrified the three or four *Lords* that met, who at that time often stumped to themselves the authority of the Upper House, (many stealing out of the way,) they agree to the Votes of the *House of Commons*. And then *Commissioners* were likewise sent from the Army to thank the *Lords* for that good service done to the Kingdom, and solemnly to assure them in name of the whole Army, *That they would maintain and defend the Rights and Priviledges of the Upper House.*

Cromwel excuses himself of perfidiousness.

The Reader may be pleased to observe what Cloak *Cromwel* used for this perfidiousness. This Blade, whilst he was praying that *Almighty God* would be pleased to prosper his endeavours in raising again the King to the Throne and Majesty of his *Ancestors*; here the words stuck between his teeth,

teeth, ſo that he could not utter one word more; which he interpreting as a ſigne of Gods diſpleaſure, concluded the *King* to be rejected of God. But to others he roundly expreſſed himſelf, *That it was lawful to circumvent a wicked deceiver, by craft and deceit.*

After this comes out a Proclamation, by authority of the Houſe of Commons, wherein the ſticklers both for *Oligarchy* and *Democracy*, who agreed very well together againſt the *King*, declare the Reaſons that enclined them to paſs thoſe Votes of *none Addreſſes to his Majeſty.* *They publiſh a Declaration,*

This they ſtuff with all the Calumnies that were raiſed againſt the King, by the Clubs and Conferences of his lewdeſt enemies, or by uncertain Rumours ſpread abroad by themſelves; to which they adde other Aſperſions, which though they had been bawled over and over again in the *Houſe*, yet were found not to have had the leaſt ſhadow of truth, and were onely invented and exaggerated to create greater hatred. *Which they ſtuff with all the Calumnies they can againſt the King.*

They cauſe this infamous *Libel* to be ſent about into all the Pariſhes of the *Kingdom*, being ſecure that no body durſt, or indeed could undergo the danger of anſwering it, ſince all the Preſſes were narrowly watched. The *Miniſters* are commanded to read it to the people in the *Church*, and to preach as well as they could in praiſe of it. *They command it to be read publickly by the Miniſters in all Pariſh-Churches,*

And that *they* might be the more willing to ſerve the end, it was at the ſame time voted in the *Houſe of Commons*, *That the Tythes and Dean and Chapters Rents ſhould be paid to the Preachers*; ſeeming to be very ſollicitous for the *Cauſe of God* and Religion, when in reality they intended to cheat the *Church* of them, and to convert them to profane uſe. Nay, the *Juſtices of Peace* are everywhere enjoyned to force the *Laicks*, who refuſed, to pay them. *And ſooth them with promiſes, that they may commend it in their ſermons.*

They endeavour by their Emissaries to procure gratulatory Petitions.

them. They likewise hoped to stir up the people by *Emissaries* and *Souldiers* everywhere dispersed, by *Anabaptists*, *Schismaticks*, and *Hereticks*, who were most diligent in propagating their affairs, to approve what the Parliament had done by congratulatory Addresses, and to demand some severer punishment to be inflicted upon the King.

The K. *Majesty is justified by many Apologies.*

But it happened contrariwise: for three Answers and *Apologies* at least came out within a short time, (one of which was written with the Kings own hand) wherein his *Majesty* was most clearly acquitted from those reproachful Imputations, and the Accusations retorted upon the Faction it self, which was proved to be guilty of all the crimes that it maliciously and falsly fastened upon the King; and that with so great evidence and perspicuity, that no man durst offer so much as to mutter against it.

The Parsons coldly execute their orders: very few congratulate.

In the mean time the *Ministers* coldly obey their commands: and some few gratulatory Addresses by the industry of *Sectarians*, are with much ado extorted from a few Counties, and signed but with the hands of some obscure and notoriously malicious Villains.

All the people grumble and fret.

Now the people began to grumble and fret, to accuse the Sectarians, and especially the Souldiers of juggling and imposture; and to curse them all. Afterwards came Petitions from a great many Counties, and those also which always were for the *Parliament*, earnestly intreating that a personal Treaty might be had with the King, that the Army might be paid and disbanded, that assistance in the mean time should be sent over into *Ireland*, that *England* might be eased from Oppressions, and from contributing to the charges of an unnecessary Army, which it was no longer able to bear.

Many petition for a personal Treaty with the King.

At length it came to that, that a great many of these

theſe humble Petitions ſigned with the hands of infinite numbers of men, had almoſt confounded the repugnancy of the Parliament; the *Commanders* of the Army in the ſeveral *Counties*, and the *Parliament Commiſſioners*, who for the moſt part did all now comply with the victorious Party, in vain uſing all their endeavours by threats of ſequeſtrations, impriſonments, baniſhment, and death, and now and then by flattery and golden promiſes, to make them deſiſt and be ſilent.

The Rebels in vain oppoſing it.

Nor can we paſs over, without a remark, the changing Tides of *Divine Vengeance*, or of *Popular* Inconſtancy; whilſt the very ſame Parliament, from which the firſt tumults of petitioning againſt the *King* had their riſe, does now complain that the dignity of the *Members* are endangered by an undeſired confluence of Petitioners.

The firſt that led the van in petitioning were the *Eſſex*-men, in numbers unuſual before theſe times, who were ſo many that they might have compelled thoſe whom they came to ſupplicate. Next came the *Surrey*-men, who being unarmed, were upon a ſlight occaſion barbarouſly treated by the Souldiers near the very door of the *Parliament-houſe*; being ſeverely beaten, forced to flie, ſome killed, more wounded, all plundered, and that by order of the Houſe, and command of the Officers; nay, the Rioters had the thanks of the *Lower Houſe*, and rewards for the fact; that ſo the people might for the future beware of *licentious petitioning*, which heretofore was judged a part of their Right.

First were the Eſſex-men;

Next, thoſe of Surrey, who are abuſed by the Souldiers.

But all they get by their *Tyranny* in labouring to ſtifle the Grievances and Complaints of the oppreſt people, was to incenſe the other *Counties* to ply them more frequently with Petitions: who ſeeing they could procure no remedy by complaining, from Prayers and Petitions they betake themſelves to

But nevertheleſs, more Petitions come from other Counties;

Arms. *The liberty of the King and People* (which heretofore the deluded Rabble thought to be inconsistent) are again born in colours, *by the men of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, York-shire, and other Northern Counties, South and North Wales also, and at length of Surrey*, who were inflamed with a greater desire of vengeance; many Nobles (*the Earl of Holland, Wiot, and Duke of Buckingham*, &c.) who were unluckily discovered to have entered into a Conspiracy at *London*, joyning them too hastily.

And the Kentish and Essex men with several others being repulsed, betake themselves to Arms.

The Fleet also falls off from the Parl.

The Sea-men also being carried with the same tyde of Commiseration towards the King, fall off, and seventeen men of War, having put the *Republican Admiral Rainsborough* on shore, come over to Prince *Charles*.

The Scots rise in arms for delivering the K. out of prison.

The *Scots* also by order of their *Parliament* take up Arms for delivering the *King* out of Prison wherein he was basely detained, and make an Irruption into the Northern parts of *England*, with a numerous army under the command of *Hamilton*; being joyned by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with a considerable body of English: But whether it was the wonted ill fortune of the King, or of *Hamilton* himself, or rather the decree and purpose of *Almighty God*, the *English* first, by intervals, and one after another, were routed and killed by the enemy; for it was a matter of small difficulty for an old Army provided with Ammunition and all other necessaries of War, commanded by vigilant and expert Generals and Officers, to defeat and put to flight a tumultuary body of raw Country-men rather than Souldiers, destitute of Arms and warlike provisions, and for most part without Commanders, whilst they come to engage by Parties one after another.

The English are overcome by the enemy.

Nevertheless, *Colchester* in *Essex*, and *Pembrooke* the chief Town of that County in *Wales*, though they

they were unprovided for a Siege, gave the Rebels no little work to do. Nor did *Pontfract-Caſtle* fall diſhonourably into their hands; out of which about thirty Horſemen breaking through the Forces that beſieged the place, pulled *Rainsborough* (lately Admiral and now General of the Northern Army, who had brought ſome thouſands of Auxiliary Troops to make an end of the Siege) out of his Bed in *Duncaſter* a fortified Tower, twelve miles diſtant from *Pontfract*; and becauſe he refuſed to be carried away with them as a Priſoner, killed him. Nay, the Garriſon being reduced to the utmoſt extremity, all had free liberty to depart to their own houſes, except two Souldiers; to whom it was permitted even by Articles, either to die in the Bed of Honour fighting, or to arm themſelves and ſtrive to break through the enemy. Which both of them watching their opportunity, got on horſeback, and performed almoſt without a wound.

And the Scots.

The *Scots* through the unskilfulneſs and cowardice of their Generals, or (which I am not willing to ſuſpect) their treachery, leading the Army in two bodies forty miles diſtant one from another, are without any trouble routed by *Cromwel*, who unexpectedly falling upon the main body, put it to flight, and all the reſt into conſternation; many being killed and taken, amongſt whom was *Hamilton* the General.

Hamilton *the General being taken.*

The reſt he purſued into *Scotland*; where *Argile* with the Forces he had raiſed, being no leſs an Army at home than *Cromwel* was abroad, reduced them in a ſhort time to ſuch ſtreights, that the Army which had been raiſed by order of *Parliament*, was forced to lay down Arms, and ſubmit to the diſcretion of *Argile*'s Faction. Then was a new Parliament called, all being excluded who had taken up Arms, or voted for engaging in a War for

the delivery of the *King*. In this the Acts of the laſt Parliament were recinded, the War declared to have been unlawful, *Cromwel* had the publick thanks, and *Argile* privately engaged (as *Cromwel* himſelf boaſted) that he would concur with the *Oligarchicks* of *England*, and root out *Monarchy* (when occaſion offered) in *Scotland* as well as in *England*.

The ſhips prepare to make a defection from the Prince, matters ſucceeding ill at Land.

Beſides, many Ships, the Tyde turning, according to the innate levine of Seamen, prepare to make defection from the *Prince*, caſting themſelves into the protection of the *Earl of Warwick*, who had won their hearts by frequent Largeſſes, and who was ſet over a new Fleet for a time, that he might draw over the Seamen again to the obedience of the *Parliament*: but being beſet with the Spies of the *Oligarchick Rebels*, and having done their job, he juſtly received the uſual Reward from theſe Maſters, that is, he was turned out and laid aſide.

The Parl. in the mean time think of making peace.

Whilſt the Army is buſied in theſe Wars, the *Members of Parliament* being a little rid of the yoak of the Army and *Cromwel* that were now at a diſtance, and ſeriouſly conſidering how ill all the People of the Kingdom would reſent the injuries done to the *King*, and how tickliſh their own affairs ſtood, they begin to think of Peace; and growing wiſe behind hand, againſt the advice of the *Oligarchick Republicans*, they reſcind the Votes of *None Addreſſes*, by the unanimous conſent of *both Houſes*. They appoint a Conference with the *King* for compoſing Differences; but by *Commiſſioners*, and that in the *Iſle of Wight*. For this purpoſe they commiſſionate five *Lords* for the *Upper Houſe*, and ten *Commoners* for the *Lower*. The Propoſitions to be debated in that Conference, are preſcribed to the *Commiſſioners*.

The Act of None Addreſſes is reſcinded.

They appoint a Conference with the K. by Commiſſioner in the Iſle of Wight.

¶ *That the Tranſlator relates all which* verbatim, *though*

though it be contrary to the design of this Work, and of the Author, who hath onely entred the short Articles marked with the numbers I. II. III. *I hope the Reader will not dislike, since the Articles at large contain so excellent a description of the Changes that were then intended to be made in the Government of* England, *that it is thought very fit to publish them according to the perfect Copy printed by order of both Houses the 29th of* August, 1648.

May it please your Majesty:

WE *the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of* England, *in the name, and on the behalf of the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *and the Commissioners of the Parliament of* Scotland, *in the name, and on the behalf of the Kingdom of* Scotland; *Do humbly present unto your Majesty the humble desires and Propositions for a safe and well-grounded Peace, agreed upon by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively; unto which we do pray your Majesties Assent: And that they and all such Bills as shall be tendered to your Majesty in pursuance of them, or any of them, may be Established and Enacted for Statutes and Acts of Parliament, by your Majesties Royal Assent in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms respectively.*

I. WHereas both Houses of the Parliament of *England* have been necessitated to undertake a War in their just and lawful defence; and afterwards both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* joyned in Solemn League and Covenant, were engaged to prosecute the same.

That by Act of Parliament in each Kingdom respectively, all Oaths, Declarations, and Proclamations

tions heretofore had, or hereafter to be had against both or either of the Houses of the Parliament of *England*, the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the late Convention of Estates in *Scotland*, or Committees flowing from the Parliament or Convention in *Scotland*, or their Ordinances and Proceedings; or against any for adhering unto them, or for doing or executing any Office, Place, or Charge, by any Authority derived from them; and all Judgments, Indictments, Outlawries, Attainders, and Inquisitions, in any the said Causes; and all Grants thereupon made or had, or to be made or had, be declared *Null*, suppressed and forbidden. And that this be publickly intimated in all Parish-Churches within his Majesties Dominions, and all other places needful.

II. That his Majesty, according to the laudable example of his Royal Father of happy memory, may be pleased to swear and signe the late Solemn League and Covenant; and that an Act of Parliament be passed in both Kingdoms respectively, for enjoyning the taking thereof by all the Subjects of the three Kingdoms; and the Ordinances concerning the manner of taking the same in both Kingdoms, be confirmed by Acts of Parliament respectively, with such Penalties as by mutual advice of both Kingdoms shall be agreed upon.

III. That a Bill be passed for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans, and Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, Canons, and Prebendaries; and all Chaunters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succentors, and Sacrists; all Vicars Choril, and Choresters, old Vicars, and new Vicars of any Cathedral or Collegiate-Church, and all other their under-Officers, out of the Church of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*; and out of the

the Church of *Ireland*, with ſuch alterations concerning the Eſtates of Prelates, as ſhall agree with the Articles of the late Treaty of the date at *Edenburgh*, 29 *November*, 1643. and joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms.

That the Ordinances concerning the calling and ſitting of the Aſſembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament. IV.

That Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, be ſetled by Act of Parliament, in ſuch manner as both Houſes have agreed, or ſhall agree upon, after conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines. V.

For as much as both Kingdoms are mutually obliged by the ſame Covenant, to endeavour the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in matters of Religion, That ſuch Unity and Uniformity in Religion, according to the Covenant, as after conſultation had with the Divines of both Kingdoms now aſſembled, is or ſhall be joyntly agreed upon by both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, and by the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, be confirmed by Acts of Parliament of both Kingdoms reſpectively.

That for the more effectual diſabling Jeſuits, Prieſts, Papiſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, from diſturbing the State, and deluding the Laws; and for the better diſcovering, and ſpeedy conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, an Oath be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament to be adminiſtred to them, wherein they ſhall abjure and renounce the Popes Supremacy, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, worſhipping of the Conſecrated Hoaſt, Crucifixes and Images, and all other Popiſh Superſtitions and Errours; and refuſing the ſaid Oath, being tendred in ſuch manner as ſhall be appointed by the ſaid Act, to be a ſufficient Conviction of Popiſh Recuſancy. VI.

An

VII. An Act or Acts of Parliament for Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants, in the Protestant Religion.

VIII. An Act or Acts for the true Levie of the Penalties against them; which Penalties to be levied and disposed in such manner as both Houses shall agree on, wherein to be provided that his Majesty shall have no loss.

IX. That an Act or Acts be passed in Parliament, whereby the practices of Papists against the State may be prevented, and the Laws against them duly executed, and a stricter course taken to prevent the Saying or Hearing of Mass in the Court, or any other part of this Kingdom, or the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, concerning the four last preceding Propositions, in such manner as the Estates of the Parliament there shall think fit.

X. That the King do give his Royal assent to an Act for the due observation of the Lords Day.

XI. And to the Bill for the suppression of Innovations in Churches and Chappels, in and about the Worship of God.

XII. And for the better advancement of the preaching of Gods holy Word in all parts of this Kingdom.

XIII. And to the Bill against the enjoying the pluralities of Benefices by Spiritual Persons and Non-Residency.

XIV. And to an Act to be framed and agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament, for the reforming and regulating of both Universities, of the Colledges of *Westminster*, *Winchester*, and *Eaton*.

XV. And to such Act or Acts for raising of Moneys for the payment and satisfying of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom, and other publick uses,

ules, as shall hereafter be agreed on by both Houses of Parliament; and that if the King do not give his Assent thereunto, then it being done by both Houses of Parliament, the same shall be as valid to all intents and purposes as if the Royal Assent had been given thereunto.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

And that his Majesty give assurance of his consenting in the Parliament of *Scotland*, to an Act, acknowledging and ratifying the Acts of the Convention of Estates of *Scotland*, called by the Council and Conservers of the Peace, and the Commissioners for the common Burthens, and assembled the two and twentieth day of *June*, 1643. and several times continued since: and of the Parliament of that Kingdom since convened.

XVI. That the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of *England* assembled, shall, during the space of twenty years, from the first of *July*, 1646. arm, train, and discipline, or cause to be armed, trained, and disciplined, all the Forces of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, already raised both for Sea and Land-service; and shall from time to time during the said space of twenty years, raise, levy, arm, train, and discipline, or cause to be raised, levied, armed, trained, and disciplined, any other Forces for Land and Sea-service in the Kingdoms, Dominions, and places aforesaid, as in their Judgments they shall from time to time, during the said space of twenty years, think fit and appoint; and that neither the the King, his Heirs, or Successors, nor any other but such as shall act by the authority or approbation of the said Lords and Commons, shall during the said space of twenty years, exercise any of the Powers aforesaid.

And

And the like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if the Eſtates of the Parliament there ſhall think fit.

That Moneys be raiſed and levied for the maintenance and uſe of the ſaid Forces for Land-ſervice, and of the Navy and Forces for Sea-ſervice, in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch ways and means as the ſaid Lords & Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe. That all the ſaid Forces both for Land and Sea-ſervice, ſo raiſed or levied, or to be raiſed or levied, and alſo the Admiralty and Navy, ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, be employed, managed, ordered, and diſpoſed by the ſaid Lords and Commons in ſuch ſort, and by ſuch ways and means as they ſhall think fit and appoint, and not otherwiſe. And the ſaid Lords and Commons, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, ſhall have power,

1. To ſuppreſs all Forces raiſed or to be raiſed, without authority and conſent of the ſaid Lords and Commons, to the diſturbance of the publick Peace of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

2. To ſuppreſs any foreign Forces who ſhall invade or endeavour to invade the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, the Iſles of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any of them.

3. To conjoyn ſuch Forces of the Kingdom of *England*, with the Forces of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as the ſaid Lords and Commons ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid ſpace of twenty years, judge fit and neceſſary: To reſiſt all foreign Invaſions, and to ſuppreſs any Forces raiſed or to be raiſed againſt, or within either of the ſaid Kingdoms;

to

to the disturbance of the publick Peace of the said Kingdoms, or any of them, by any authority under the Great Seal, or other Warrant whatsoever, without consent of the said Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England*, and the Parliament or the Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland* respectively; And that no Forces of either Kingdom, shall go into or continue in the other Kingdom without the advice and desire of the said Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *England*, and the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, or such as shall be by them appointed for that purpose; And that after the expiration of the said twenty years, neither the King, his Heirs or Successors, or any person or persons by colour or pretence of any Commission, Power, Deputation, or Authority to be derived from the King, his Heirs or Successors, or any of them, shall raise, arm, train, discipline, employ, order, mannage, disband, or dispose any of the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, the Dominion of *Wales*, Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, and the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*; Nor exercise any of the said Powers or Authorities in the precedent Articles mentioned and expressed to be during the said space of twenty years in the said Lords and Commons; Nor do any act or thing concerning the execution of the said Powers or Authorities, or any of them, without the consent of the said Lords and Commons first had and obtained: That after the expiration of the said twenty years, in all cases wherein the Lords and Commons shall declare the safety of the Kingdom to be concerned, and shall thereupon pass any Bill or Bills for the raising, arming, training, disciplining, employing, mannaging, ordering, or disposing of the Forces by Sea or Land, of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and Dominion of *Wales*, Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, and

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the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, or any part of the said Forces, or concerning the Admiralty and Navy, or concerning the levying of Moneys for the raising, maintenance, or use of the said Forces for Land-service, or for the Navy, and Forces for Sea-service, or of any part of them; and if that the Royal Assent to such Bill or Bills shall not be given in the House of Peers within such time after the passing thereof by both Houses of Parliament, as the said Houses shall judge fit and convenient; That then such Bill or Bills so passed by the said Lords and Commons as aforesaid, and to which the Royal Assent shall not be given, as is herein before expressed, shall nevertheless, after declaration of the said Lords and Commons made in that behalf, have the force and strength of an Act or Acts of Parliament; and shall be as valid to all intents and purposes, as if the Royal Assent had been given thereunto.

Provided, that nothing herein before contained shall extend to the taking away of the ordinary legal power of Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, Coroners, Constables, Headboroughs, or other Officers of Justice, not being Military Officers, concerning the administration of Justice, so as neither the said Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, Coroners, Constables, Headboroughs, and other Officers, nor any of them, do levy, conduct, employ, or command any Forces whatsoever, by colour or pretence of any Commission of Array, or extraordinary command from his Majesty, his Heirs, or Successors, without the consent of the said Lords and Commons.

And if any persons shall be gathered and assembled together in warlike manner, or otherwise to the number of thirty persons, and shall not forthwith disband themselves, being required thereto by the said Lords and Commons, or command from them,

them, or any by them, especially authorized for that purpose; then such person or persons not so disbanding themselves, shall be guilty and incur the pains of High-Treason, being first declared guilty of such offence by the said Lords and Commons; any Commission under the great Seal or other Warrant to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And he or they that shall offend herein, to be incapable of any pardon from his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, and their Estates shall be disposed as the said Lords and Commons shall think fit, and not otherwise.

Provided that the City of *London* shall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties, and Franchises, Customs and Usages in the raising and employing the Forces of that City, for the defence thereof, in as full and ample manner, to all intents and purposes, as they have or might have used or enjoyed the same at any time, before the making of the said Act or Proposition; To the end that City may be fully assured it is not the intention of the Parliament to take from them any priviledges, or immunities in raising or disposing of their Forces, which they have or might have used or enjoyed heretofore.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if the Estates of the Parliament there shall think fit.

XVII. That by Act of Parliament, all Peers made since the day that *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, deserted the Parliament, and that the said Great Seal was surreptitiously conveyed away from the Parliament, being the one and twentieth day of *May*, 1642. and who shall be hereafter made, shall not sit or vote in the Parliament of *England*, without consent of both Houses of Parliament: And that all Honour and Title conferred on any without consent of both Houses of Parliament, since the twentieth day of *May*, 1642. being

ing

ing the day that both Houſes declared. That the King ſeduced by evil Council, intended to raiſe War againſt the Parliament, be declared Null and Void.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, thoſe being excepted whoſe Parents were paſſed the Great Seal before the fourth of *June*, 1644.

XVIII. That an Act be paſſed in the Parliament of both Kingdoms reſpectively, for confirmation of the Treaties paſſed betwixt the two Kingdoms (*viz.*) the large Treaty, the late Treaty for the coming of the *Scots* Army into *England*, and the ſetling of the Garriſon of *Barwick* of the 29th of *November*, 1643. and the Treaty concerning *Ireland* of the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1642. for the bringing of ten thouſand *Scots* into the Province of *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, with all other Ordinances and Proceedings paſſed betwixt the two Kingdoms, and whereunto they are obliged by the aforeſaid Treaties.

And that *Algernon* Earl of *Northumberland*, *John* Earl of *Rutland*, *Philip* Earl of *Pembrooke* and *Mungomery*, *Theophilus* Earl of *Lincoln*, *James* Earl of *Suffolk*, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Manchester*, *Henry* Earl of *Stanford*, *Francis* Lord *Dacres*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *Francis* Lord *Willoughby*, *Dudly* Lord *North*, *John* Lord *Hunſdon*, *William* Lord *Gray*, *Edward* Lord *Howard* of *Eſtrick*, *Thomas* Lord *Bruce*, *Ferdinando* Lord *Fairfax*, Mr. *Nathaniel Fines*, Sir *William Armine*, Sir *Philip Stapilton*, Sir *Henry Vane* ſenior, Mr. *William Perpoint*, Sir *Edward Aiſcough*, Sir *William Strickland*, Sir *Arthur Heſilrig*, Sir *John Fenwick*, Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *Thomas Widdington*, Mr. *John Toll*, Mr. *Gilbert Millington*, Sir *William Conſtable*, Sir *John Wray*, Sir *Henry Vaine* junior, Mr. *Henry Darley*, *Oliver Saint John* Eſq; his Majeſties Sollicitor-General, Mr. *Denzel Hollis*, Mr. *Alexander Rigby*, Mr. *Cornelius Holland*, Mr. *Samuel Vaſſel*,

Vaſſell, Mr. *Peregrin Pelham*, *John Glyn* Eſq; Recorder of *London*, Mr. *Henry Marten*, Mr. Alderman *Hoyle*, Mr. *John Blakiſton*, Mr. Serjeant *Wilde*, Mr. *Richard Barwis*, Sir *Anthony Irby*, Mr. *Aſhurſt*, Mr. *Bellingham*, and Mr. *Tolſon*, Members of both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, ſhall be the Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of *England*, for conſervation of the Peace between the two Kingdoms to act according to the Powers in that behalf expreſt in the Articles of the large Treaty, and not otherwiſe.

That his Majeſty give his Aſſent to what the two Kingdoms ſhall agree upon in proſecution of the Articles of the large Treaty, which are not yet finiſhed.

That an Act be paſſed in the Parliaments of both Kingdoms reſpectively, for eſtabliſhing the joynt Declaration of both Kingdoms, bearing date the 30th day of *January*, 1643. in *England*, and 1644. in *Scotland*, with the Qualifications enſuing.

1 Qualification.

That the perſons who ſhall expect no pardon, be onely theſe following:

Rupert & *Maurice*, Count Palatines of *Rhine*.
James Earl of *Darby*.
John Earl of *Briſtol*.
William Earl of *Newcaſtle*.
Francis Lord *Cottington*.
George Lord *Digby*.
Matthew Wren Biſhop of *Ely*.
Sir *Robert Heath* Kt.
Dr. *Bramhall* Biſhop of *Derry*.
Sir *William Widdrington*.
Col. *George Goring*.
Henry Jermin Eſq;
Sir *Ralph Hopton*.
Sir *John Biron*.
Sir *Francis Doddington*.
Sir *John Strangewayes*.
Mr. *Endymion Porter*.
Sir *George Radcliffe*.
Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*.
Henry Vaughan Eſq; now called Sir *Hen. Vaughan*.

Sir *Francis Windibanke.*
Sir *Richard Greenvill.*
Mr. *Edward Hide*, now called Sir *Edw. Hide.*
Sir *John Marley.*
Sir *Nicholas Cole.*
Sir *Thomas Riddel* Jun.
Sir *John Colepepper.*
Mr. *Richard Lloyd*, now called Sir *Rich. Lloyd.*
Mr. *David Jenkins.*
Sir *George Strode.*
George Carteret Esq; now called Sir *Geo. Carteret.*
Sir *Charles Dallison* Kt.
Richard Lane Esq; now called Sir *Rich. Lane.*
Sir *Edward Nicholas.*
John Ashburnham Esq;
Sir *Edward Herbert* Kt. his Majesties Attorney-General.
Lord *Rae.*
George Gourdon, sometime Marquess of *Huntly.*
James Graham, sometime Earl of *Montross.*
Robert Dalyell, sometime Earl of *Carnewath.*
James Gordon, sometime Viscount of *Aboyne.*
Lodowick Linsey, sometime Earl of *Crawford.*
James Ogley, sometime Earl of *Airby.*
Alester Macdonald.
Gordon, Younger of *Gight.*
Col. *John Cockram.*
Graham of *Gorthie.*
Mr. *John Maxwell*, sometime pretended Bishop of *Ross.*

And all such others as being processed by the Estates for Treason, shall be condemned before the Act of Oblivion be passed.

2 *Qualification.*

All Papists and Popish Recusants, who have been, now are, or shall be actually in Arms, or voluntarily assisting against the Parliaments or Estates of either Kingdom; and by name,

The Marquess of *Winton.*
Edward Earl of *Worcester.*
Lord *Brudnell.*
Carell Mollinex Esq;
Lord *Arundel* of *Warder.*
Sir *Francis Howard.*
Sir *John Winter.*
Sir *Charles Smith.*
Sir *John Preston.*

Sir

Sir *Bazil Brooke.*
Lord *Audley*, Earl of *Caſtlehaven* in the Kingdom of *Ireland.*
William Shelden of *Beely*, Eſquire.
Sir *Henry Beddingfield.*

3 *Qualification.*

All perſons who have had any hand in the plotting, deſigning, or aſſiſting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, except ſuch perſons who having onely aſſiſted the ſaid Rebellion, have rendred themſelves, or come into the Parliament of *England.*

4 *Qualification.*

That *Humfrey Bennet* Eſq;
Sir *Edward Ford.*
Sir *John Penruddock.*
Sir *George Vaughan.*
Sir *John Weld.*
Sir *Robert Lee.*
Sir *John Pate.*
John Ackland.
Edmond Windham Eſq;
Sir *John Fitzharbert.*
Sir *Edw. Lawrence.*
Sir *Ralph Dutton.*
Henry Lingen Eſq;
Sir *Hen. Fletcher.*
Sir *Rich. Minſhall.*
Laurence Haleſtead.
John Denham Eſq;
Sir *Edmund Forteſcue.*
Peter Sainthill Eſq;
Sir *Tho. Tildiſley.*
Sir *Hen. Griffith.*
Michael Wharton Eſq;
Sir *Hen. Spiller.*
Mr. *Geo. Benyon*, now called Sir *Geo. Benyon.*
Sir *Edw. Walgrave.*
Sir *Edw. Biſhop.*
Sir *William Ruſſell* of *Worceſterſhire.*
Thomas Lee of *Adlington*, Eſq;
Sir *John Girlington.*
Sir *Paul Neale.*
Sir *William Thorold.*
Sir *Edward Huſſey.*
Sir *Tho. Lyddell* Sen.
Sir *Philip Muſgrave.*
Sir *John Digby* of *Nottinghamſhire.*
Sir *Robert Owſeley.*
Sir *John Many.*
Lord *Cholmley.*
Sir *Tho. Aſton.*
Sir *Lewis Dives.*
Sir *Peter Osbourne.*
Samuel Thornton Eſq;

Sir *John Lucas*.
John Claney Eſq;
Sir *Thō. Chedle*.
Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh*.
Hugh Llayd Eſq;
Sir *Nicholas Cripſe*.
Sir *Peter Ricaut*.

And all ſuch of the Scottiſh Nation as have concurred in the Votes at *Oxford*, againſt the Kingdom of *Scotland* and their proceedings, or have ſworn or ſubſcribed the Declaration againſt the Convention and Covenant; and all ſuch as have aſſiſted the Rebellion in the North, or the Invaſion in the South of the ſaid Kingdom of *Scotland*, or the late Invaſion made there by the *Iriſh* and their Adherents, be removed from his Majeſties Councils, and be reſtrained from coming within the Verge of the Court; and that they may not, without the advice and conſent of both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, or the Eſtates in the Parliament of *Scotland* reſpectively, bear any Office, or have any Employment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High-Treaſon, and incapable of any pardon from his Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, or the Eſtates of the Parliament in *Scotland* reſpectively ſhall think fit: And that one full third part upon full value of the Eſtates of the perſons aforeſaid, made incapable of Employment as aforeſaid, be employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages, according to the Declaration.

Branch 1. That the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves late Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have not onely deſerted the Parliament, but have alſo ſate in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, called or pretended by ſome to be a Parliament, and voted both Kingdoms Traytors, and have not voluntarily rendred themſelves before the

the laſt of *October*, 1644. be removed from his Majeſties Councils, and be reſtrained from coming within the Verge of the Court. And that they may not, without advice and conſent of both Kingdoms, bear any Office, or have any Employment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High-Treaſon, and incapable of any pardon by his Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of Parliament in *England*, or the Eſtates of the Parliament of *Scotland* reſpectively ſhall think fit.

Branch 2. That the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have ſate in the unlawful Aſſembly at *Oxford*, called or pretended by ſome to be a Parliament, and have not voluntarily rendred themſelves before the laſt of *October*, 1644. be removed from his Majeſties Councils, and reſtrained from coming within the Verge of the Court; and that they may not, without the advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, bear any Office, or have any Employment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in caſe any of them ſhall offend therein, to be guilty of High-Treaſon, and incapable of any pardon from his Majeſty, and their Eſtates to be diſpoſed as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ſhall think fit.

Branch 3. That the late Members, or any who pretended themſelves Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have deſerted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and have not rendred themſelves before the laſt of *October*, 1644. be removed from his Majeſties Councils, and be reſtrained from coming within the Verge of the Court; and that they may not, without the advice and conſent of both Houſes of Parliament, bear any Office, or

have any Employment concerning the State or Commonwealth. And in case any of them shall offend therein, to be guilty of High-Treason, and incapable of any pardon from his Majesty, and their Estates to be disposed as both Houses of Parliament in *England* shall think fit.

5 *Qualification.*

That all Judges and Officers, towards the Law, Common or Civil, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be incapable of any place of Judicature or Office towards the Law, Common or Civil: And that all Serjeants, Counsellors, and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates, Proctors of the Law, Common or Civil, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be incapable of any practice in the Law, Common or Civil, either in publick or private; and shall not be capable of any preferment or employment in the Commonwealth, without the advice and consent of both Houses of Parliament: And that no Bishop or Clergy-man, no Master or Fellow of any Colledge or Hall in either of the Universities, or elsewhere, or any Master of School or Hospital, or any Ecclesiastical person, who hath deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, shall hold or enjoy, or be capable of any preferment or employment in Church or Commonwealth; but all their said several preferments, places, and promotions, shall be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor shall they otherwise use their Function of the Ministry, without advice and consent of both Houses of Parliament: Provided that no Laps shall incurr by such vacancy, until six months past, after notice thereof.

6 *Qualifi-*

6 *Qualification.*

That all persons who have been actually in Arms against the Parliament, or have counselled or voluntarily assisted the Enemies thereof, are disabled to be Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, or other head-Officers of any City or Corporation, Commissioners of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, or to sit or serve as Members, or Assistants in either of the Houses of Parliament, or to have any Military employment in this Kingdom, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

7 *Qualification.*

The persons of all others to be free of all personal censure, notwithstanding any Act, or thing done in, or concerning this War, they taking the Covenant.

8 *Qualification.*

The Estates of those persons excepted in the first three precedent Qualifications; and the Estates of *Edward* Lord *Littleton*, and of *William Laud* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to pay publick Debts and Damages.

9 *Qualification.*

Branch 1. That two full parts in three, to be divided of all the Estates of the Members of either House of Parliament, who have not only deserted the Parliament, but have also voted both Kingdoms Traytors, and have not rendred themselves before the first of *December*, 1645. shall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

Branch 2. That two full parts in three, to be divided of the Estates of such late Members of either House of Parliament, as sate in the unlawful Assembly at *Oxford*, and shall not have rendred themselves before the first of *December*, 1645. shall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

Branch 3. That one full moity of the Estates of such persons, late Members of either of the Houses of Parliament, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and shall not have rendred themselves before the first of *December*, 1645. shall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

10 *Qualification.*

That a full third part of the value of the Estates of all Judges and Officers towards the Law, Common or Civil, and of all Serjeants, Counsellors, and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates, and Proctors of the Law, Common or Civil: And of all Bishops, Clergymen, Masters and Fellows of any Colledge or Hall in either of the Universities, or elsewhere: And of all Masters of Schools or Hospitals, and of all Ecclesiastical persons who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and have not rendred themselves to the Parliament before the first of *December*, 1645. shall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

That a full sixth part of the full value of the Estates of the persons excepted in the sixth Qualification, concerning such as have been actually in Arms against the Parliament, or have counselled or voluntarily assisted the Enemies thereof, and are disabled according to the said Qualification, be taken and employed

employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

II *Qualification.*

That the perſons and Eſtates of all Common Souldiers, and others of the Kingdom of *England*, who in Lands or Goods be not worth two hundred pounds ſterling; and the perſons and Eſtates of all Common Souldiers and others of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who in Lands or Goods be not worth one hundred pounds ſterling, be at liberty and diſcharged.

Branch 1. This Propoſition to ſtand as to the *Engliſh*, and as to the *Scots* likewiſe; if the Parliament of *Scotland* or their Commiſſioners ſhall ſo think fit.

Branch 2. That the 1 of *May* laſt, is now the day limited for the perſons to come in that are comptiſed within the former Qualifications. Provided that all and every the Delinquents which by or according to the ſeveral and reſpective Ordinances or Orders made by both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, on or before the 24th day of *April*, 1647. are to be admitted to make their Fines and Compoſitions under the rates and proportions of the Qualifications aforeſaid, ſhall according to the ſaid Ordinances and Orders, reſpectively be thereto admitted; and further alſo, that no perſon or perſons whatſoever (except ſuch Papiſts as having been in Arms, or voluntarily aſſiſted againſt the Parliament, have by concealing their quality, procured their admiſſion to Compoſition) which have already compounded, or ſhall hereafter compound and be thereto admitted by both Houſes of Parliament, at any of the rates and proportions aforeſaid, or under reſpectively, ſhall be put to pay any other

Fine

Fine than that they have or ſhall reſpectively ſo compound for, (except for ſuch Eſtates, or ſuch of their Eſtates, and for ſuch values thereof reſpectively as have been or ſhall be concealed or omitted in the particulars whereupon they compound ;) and that all and every of them ſhall have thereupon their Pardons in ſuch manner and form as is agreed by both Houſes of Parliament.

That an Act be paſſed whereby the Debts of the Kingdom, and the perſons of Delinquents, and the value of their Eſtates may be known ; and which Act ſhall appoint in what manner the Confiſcations and Proportions before-mentioned may be leavied, and applied to the diſcharge of the ſaid Engagements.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if the Eſtates of Parliament, or ſuch as ſhall have power from them, ſhall think fit.

XIX. That an Act of Parliament be paſſed, to declare and make void the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, and all Treaties and Concluſions of Peace, or any Articles thereupon with the Rebels, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. And to ſettle the proſecution of the War of *Ireland* in both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by them ; and the King to aſſiſt, and to do no act to diſcountenance or moleſt them therein.

That Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, be ſetled in the Kingdom of *Ireland* by Act of Parliament, in ſuch manner as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* have agreed, or ſhall agree upon, after Conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines here.

That the Deputy or chief Governour, or other Governours of *Ireland*, and the Preſidents of the ſeveral Provinces of that Kingdom, be nominated by both the Houſes of the Parliament of *England* ; or

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in the intervals of Parliament, by such Committees of both Houses of Parliament as both Houses of the Parliament of *England* shall nominate and appoint for that purpose. And that the Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Commissioners of the Great Seal or Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Master of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Vice-Treasurer, and the Treasurers at Wars of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, be nominated by both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to continue *Quam diu se bene gesserint*, and in the intervals of Parliament, by the afore-mentioned Committees, to be approved or disallowed by both Houses at their next sitting.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, concerning the nomination of the Lords of the Privy-Council, Lords of Session, and Exchequer, Officers of State, and Justice-General, in such manner as the Estates of Parliament there shall think fit.

That the Militia of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common Council assembled, or such as they shall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to be three:) to be employed and directed from time to time in such manner as shall be agreed on and appointed by both Houses of Parliament.

That no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Forces of the said City, shall be drawn forth or compelled to go out of the said City or Liberties thereof for Military service, without their own free consent.

That an Act be passed for the granting and confirming

firming of the Charters, Customs, Liberties, and Franchises of the City of *London*, notwithstanding any Nonuser, Misuser, or Abuser.

That the Tower of *London* may be in the government of the City of *London*, and the chief Officer and Governour thereof from time to time be nominated, and removeable by the Common Council: And for prevention of inconveniencies which may happen by the long intermission of Common Councils, it is desired that there may be an Act, that all by-Laws and Ordinances already made, or hereafter to be made by the Council assembled, touching the calling, continuing, directing, and regulating the same Common Councils, shall be as effectual in the Law to all intents and purposes, as if the same were particularly enacted by the Authority of Parliament: And that the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common Council, may adde to or repeal the said Ordinances from time to time as they shall see cause.

That such other Propositions as shall be made for the City, for their further safety, welfare, and government, and shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament, may be granted and confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That all Grants, Commissions, Presentations, Writs, Process, proceedings, and other things passed under the Great Seal of *England*, in the custody of the Lords and other Commissioners appointed by both Houses of Parliament for the custody thereof, be, and by Act of Parliament with the Royal assent, shall be declared and enacted to be of like full force and effect to all intents and purposes, as the same or like Grants, Commissions, Presentations, Writs, Process, Proceedings, and other things under any Great Seal of *England*, in any time heretofore were, or have been; And that for time to come,

come, the ſaid Great Seal now remaining in cuſtody of the ſaid Commiſſioners, continue, and be uſed for the Great Seal of *England*; And that all Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings, and other things whatſoever paſſed under or by any authority of any other Great Seal, ſince the 22th day of *May*, *Anno Dom.* 1642. or hereafter to be paſſed, be *Invalid*, and of no effect, to all intents and purpoſes: Except ſuch Writs, Proceſs, and Commiſſions, as being paſſed under any other Great Seal than the ſaid Great Seal in the cuſtody of the Commiſſioners aforeſaid, on or after the ſaid 22th day of *May*, and before the 28th day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1643. were afterward proceeded upon, returned into, or put in ure in any the Kings Courts at *Weſtminſter*: And except the Grant to Mr. Juſtice *Bacon*, to be one of the Juſtices of the Kings-Bench: And except all Acts and proceedings by virtue of any ſuch Commiſſions of Goal-delivery, Aſſize, and *Niſi prius*, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, paſſed under any other Great Seal than the Seal aforeſaid in cuſtody of the ſaid Commiſſioners, before the firſt of *October*, 1642.

And that all Grants of Offices, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, made or paſſed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, unto any perſon or perſons, Bodies politick or corporate, ſince the Ceſſation made in *Ireland*, the fifteenth day of *September*, 1643. ſhall be null and void. And that all Honours and Titles conferred upon any perſon or perſons in the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſince the ſaid Ceſſation, ſhall be null and void.

That the ſeveral Ordinances, the one intituled, *An Ordinance of Parliament for aboliſhing of Archbiſhops and Biſhops within the Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales, *and for ſetling of their Lands and Poſſeſſions upon Truſtees for the uſe of the Common-*

wealth;

Branch 2. That two full parts in three, to be divided of the Estates of such late Members of either House of Parliament, as sate in the unlawful Assembly at *Oxford*, and shall not have rendred themselves before the first of *December*, 1645. shall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

Branch 3. That one full moity of the Estates of such persons, late Members of either of the Houses of Parliament, who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and shall not have rendred themselves before the first of *December*, 1645. shall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

10 Qualification.

That a full third part of the value of the Estates of all Judges and Officers towards the Law, Common or Civil, and of all Serjeants, Counsellors, and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates, and Proctors of the Law, Common or Civil: And of all Bishops, Clergymen, Masters and Fellows of any Colledge or Hall in either of the Universities, or elsewhere: And of all Masters of Schools or Hospitals, and of all Ecclesiastical persons who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and have not rendred themselves to the Parliament before the first of *December*, 1645. shall be taken and employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

That a full sixth part on the full value of the Estates of the persons excepted in the sixth Qualification, concerning such as have been actually in Arms against the Parliament, or have counselled or voluntarily assisted the Enemies thereof, and are disabled according to the said Qualification, be taken and employed

employed for the payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdom.

II *Qualification.*

That the perſons and Eſtates of all Common Souldiers, and others of the Kingdom of *England*, who in Lands or Goods be not worth two hundred pounds ſterling; and the perſons and Eſtates of all Common Souldiers and others of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who in Lands or Goods be not worth one hundred pounds ſterling, be at liberty and diſcharged.

Branch 1. This Propoſition to ſtand as to the *Engliſh*, and as to the *Scots* likewiſe; if the Parliament of *Scotland* or their Commiſſioners ſhall ſo think fit.

Branch 2. That the 1 of *May* laſt, is now the day limited for the perſons to come in that are comptiſed within the former Qualifications. Provided that all and every the Delinquents which by or according to the ſeveral and reſpective Ordinances or Orders made by both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, on or before the 24th day of *April*, 1647. are to be admitted to make their Fines and Compoſitions under the rates and proportions of the Qualifications aforeſaid, ſhall according to the ſaid Ordinances and Orders, reſpectively be thereto admitted; and further alſo, that no perſon or perſons whatſoever (except ſuch Papiſts as having been in Arms, or voluntarily aſſiſted againſt the Parliament, have by concealing their quality, procured their admiſſion to Compoſition) which have already compounded, or ſhall hereafter compound and be thereto admitted by both Houſes of Parliament, at any of the rates and proportions aforeſaid, or under reſpectively, ſhall be put to pay any other

XIX

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Fine than that they have or ſhall reſpectively ſo compound for, (except for ſuch Eſtates, or ſuch of their Eſtates, and for ſuch values thereof reſpectively as have been or ſhall be concealed or omitted in the particulars whereupon they compound;) and that all and every of them ſhall have thereupon their Pardons in ſuch manner and form as is agreed by both Houſes of Parliament.

That an Act be paſſed whereby the Debts of the Kingdom, and the perſons of Delinquents, and the value of their Eſtates may be known; and which Act ſhall appoint in what manner the Confiſcations and Proportions before-mentioned may be leavied, and applied to the diſcharge of the ſaid Engagements.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, if the Eſtates of Parliament, or ſuch as ſhall have power from them, ſhall think fit.

XIX. That an Act of Parliament be paſſed, to declare and make void the Ceſſation of *Ireland*, and all Treaties and Concluſions of Peace, or any Articles thereupon with the Rebels, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. And to ſettle the proſecution of the War of *Ireland* in both Houſes of the Parliament of *England*, to be managed by them; and the King to aſſiſt, and to do no act to diſcountenance or moleſt them therein.

That Reformation of Religion, according to the Covenant, be ſetled in the Kingdom of *Ireland* by Act of Parliament, in ſuch manner as both Houſes of the Parliament of *England* have agreed, or ſhall agree upon, after Conſultation had with the Aſſembly of Divines here.

That the Deputy or chief Governour, or other Governours of *Ireland*, and the Preſidents of the ſeveral Provinces of that Kingdom, be nominated by both the Houſes of the Parliament of *England*; or

in

in the intervals of Parliament, by such Committees of both Houses of Parliament as both Houses of the Parliament of *England* shall nominate and appoint for that purpose. And that the Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Commissioners of the Great Seal or Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Dutchy, Secretaries of State, Master of the Rolls, Judges of both Benches, and Barons of the Exchequer of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Vice-Treasurer, and the Treasurers at Wars of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, be nominated by both Houses of the Parliament of *England*, to continue *Quam diu se bene gesserint*, and in the intervals of Parliament, by the afore-mentioned Committees, to be approved or disallowed by both Houses at their next sitting.

The like for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, concerning the nomination of the Lords of the Privy-Council, Lords of Session, and Exchequer, Officers of State, and Justice-General, in such manner as the Estates of Parliament there shall think fit.

That the Militia of the City of *London* and Liberties thereof, may be in the ordering and government of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common Council assembled, or such as they shall from time to time appoint, (whereof the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being to be three:) to be employed and directed from time to time in such manner as shall be agreed on and appointed by both Houses of Parliament.

That no Citizen of the City of *London*, nor any of the Forces of the said City, shall be drawn forth or compelled to go out of the said City or Liberties thereof for Military service, without their own free consent.

That an Act be passed for the granting and confirming

firming of the Charters, Customs, Liberties, and Franchises of the City of *London*, notwithstanding any Nonuser, Misuser, or Abuser.

That the Tower of *London* may be in the government of the City of *London*, and the chief Officer and Governour thereof from time to time be nominated, and removeable by the Common Council: And for prevention of inconveniencies which may happen by the long intermission of Common Councils, it is desired that there may be an Act, that all by-Laws and Ordinances already made, or hereafter to be made by the Council assembled, touching the calling, continuing, directing, and regulating the same Common Councils, shall be as effectual in the Law to all intents and purposes, as if the same were particularly enacted by the Authority of Parliament: And that the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons in Common Council, may adde to or repeal the said Ordinances from time to time as they shall see cause.

That such other Propositions as shall be made for the City, for their further safety, welfare, and government, and shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament, may be granted and confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That all Grants, Commissions, Presentations, Writs, Process, proceedings, and other things passed under the Great Seal of *England*, in the custody of the Lords and other Commissioners appointed by both Houses of Parliament for the custody thereof, be, and by Act of Parliament with the Royal assent, shall be declared and enacted to be of like full force and effect to all intents and purposes, as the same or like Grants, Commissions, Presentations, Writs, Process, Proceedings, and other things under any Great Seal of *England*, in any time heretofore were, or have been; And that for time to

come,

come, the ſaid Great Seal now remaining in cuſtody of the ſaid Commiſſioners, continue, and be uſed for the Great Seal of *England*; And that all Grants, Commiſſions, Preſentations, Writs, Proceſs, Proceedings, and other things whatſoever paſſed under or by any authority of any other Great Seal, ſince the 22th day of *May*, *Anno Dom.* 1642. or hereafter to be paſſed, be *Invalid*, and of no effect, to all intents and purpoſes: Except ſuch Writs, Proceſs, and Commiſſions, as being paſſed under any other Great Seal than the ſaid Great Seal in the cuſtody of the Commiſſioners aforeſaid, on or after the ſaid 22th day of *May*, and before the 28th day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1643. were afterward proceeded upon, returned into, or put in ure in any the Kings Courts at *Weſtminſter*: And except the Grant to Mr. Juſtice *Bacon*, to be one of the Juſtices of the Kings-Bench: And except all Acts and proceedings by virtue of any ſuch Commiſſions of Goal-delivery, Aſſize, and *Niſi prius*, or *Oyer* and *Terminer*, paſſed under any other Great Seal than the Seal aforeſaid in cuſtody of the ſaid Commiſſioners, before the firſt of *October*, 1642.

And that all Grants of Offices, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, made or paſſed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, unto any perſon or perſons, Bodies politick or corporate, ſince the Ceſſation made in *Ireland*, the fifteenth day of *September*, 1643. ſhall be null and void. And that all Honours and Titles conferred upon any perſon or perſons in the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſince the ſaid Ceſſation, ſhall be null and void.

That the ſeveral Ordinances, the one intituled, *An Ordinance of Parliament for aboliſhing of Archbiſhops and Biſhops within the Kingdom of* England *and Dominion of* Wales, *and for ſettling of their Lands and Poſſeſſions upon Truſtees for the uſe of the Common-*

wealth;

wealth; the other intituled, *An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for appointing the sale of Bishops Lands for the use of the Commonwealth*; be confirmed by Acts of Parliament.

These were the Conditions of Peace proposed by the *Parliament* as the subject matter of that Conference, which all passionately wished, and a great many fought for. They were the very same that had been heretofore sent to the King when he was at *Hampton-Court*, and not onely rejected by *his Majesty*, but by the Army also, as being too unreasonable: they onely differed in this, that in those last there was no mention made of the *Scots*.

No notice taken of the Scots.

In the mean time the *Pacificators* are invested with no other authority but that of answering the *Royal* Arguments, and of returning Reasons to induce the *King* to assent: they had no power of softening any Proposition, or altering the least word, nay, nor so much as of omitting the Preface. Their Instructions likewise bear, that they are to acquaint the Parliament with the *Kings* Concessions, and the whole progress of the Negotiation, to treat altogether in writing, nay, and to debate the Propositions as they lay in order, not descending to a new Proposition, until the former was adjusted.

To what Conditions the Commissioners are tyed.

The Conference to be held at Newport.

Nor was it thought enough that the Conditions and *Commissioners* were so strictly limited; they confine the *Conference* also to the Town of *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, and the continuance of it to the space of forty days.

The *King* also, who was to be present at the *Conference*, was so far well treated as to be permitted to come out of [illegible] *Prison* and have that *Island* allowed him for a larger confinement; but upon promise given, that he would not depart out the

Island

Iſland within forty days after the concluſion of the Conference: and the ſly *Oligarchick* and *Democratick Republicans*, who had a hand in the *Counſels*, were the Authors of thoſe ſcruples and reſtrictions. With great caution the *Parliament* permitted ſome of his *Majeſties* neceſſary Servants, by name, ſome *Lawyers*, *Divines*, and a *Secretary* to be preſent; but not to be admitted into the *Conference*, onely to be without behind the Curtain in the Lobby. So that the King alone was ſingly to ſuſtain the perſon of a Politician and Divine, againſt the ableſt *Parliamentarian* Politicians and Divines of the whole Kingdom.

The K. is allowed his neceſſary ſervants

In managing the *Conference*, the King alone, with ſuch incredible Prudence and Eloquence, ſifted and baſed all their ſtrongeſt Arguments, with ſo great lenity and readineſs of condeſcention, granted their Demands even when he had made it appear they were unreaſonable (ſo far as with Honour and a ſafe Conſcience he could) that he ravi∫hed them all into admiration of him; and, which was an Argument of a ſupernatural Wit, he brought over the *Commiſſioners* who were his moſt inveterate enemies, even againſt their will, to his Opinion, (though their Employment, and the danger of their heads, obliged them, againſt their Conſcience, to continue in oppoſition to him.) Without doubt, in this, as in all things elſe, he gave a glorious proof of his Fatherly goodneſs, in that with his own loſs and prejudice onely he would gladly have redeem'd his people from the havock and miſeries of War.

The K.'s wonderful prudence in the Conference.

The *Conference* had for ſome time been taken up in compoſing affairs, when of a ſudden news is brought to the *Parliament*, that the *Marqueſs of Ormond* was arrived in *Ireland* to govern that Kingdom in quality of *Lord Deputy*, by authority from the King; and that he was to ſettle a Peace there, upon

In the middle of the Treaty the Parliamentarians *require that the Marqueſs of* Ormond's *Commiſſion be recalled.*

upon the best conditions he could; as also to levy an Army for delivering the King out of prison. Upon this, Letters are sent to the Commissioners in the *Isle of Wight*, with instructions to demand of the *King*, that he would recal *Ormond*'s Commission, and turn him out of that authority which was somewhat uneasie to the Pacificators.

The K.'s Answers are censured in Parl.

In the mean while, report is made to the *Parliament* by piece-meals of what was transacted in the Conference; where many with a mind as averse, as the Kings was inclinable to peace, quible at and censure the least *punctilio* of every thing, unless all were condescended to in every tittle according to their own words and prescribed form: for they were afraid (which some of them openly protested) that the Propositions being fully granted, and no more place left for Animosity or Grievance, they might, if not by force from the people, yet out of shame be compelled to conclude a Peace in good earnest, which they onely desired in shew. For the the King having, contrary to the opinion of all, condescended to many things, had not onely admitted the subject matter, but also the scrupulonities and niceties of words.

The K. unexpectedly granted many things.

To the Preface, which aimed not so much at the publick Peace, as the branding of himself and his party with a note of Ignominy, he would not consent, but with this clause, *That nothing in that Conference should be taken for granted, unless all were agreed upon in general.*

He agreed to the 1st Proposition, of recalling the Declarations; to the XVIth, of the Forces; the XIXth, of the government of *Ireland*; the XVth, of the payment of publick Debts, *Provided these Debts were stated within the space of two years*; to the XVIIth, of anulling Titles of Honours; the XIXth, of the chief Magistrates of the *Kingdom*; the XIXth, of the

Great

Great Seal; the XIXth, of the Priviledges of *London*. Of that *Court of Wards* *, provided he had an hundred thousand pound a year paid him in lieu of it.

* *There is no mention of the* Court of Wards *in these Articles, thô it is expressed both here and in* Baker's *Chronicle, and perhaps was thought of after these Articles were printed.*

In all these points he made himself an easie prey to the avarice and ambition of others; and that he might render the *Kingdom* more peaceable to others, he even suffered it to be snatched out of his own hands.

He gave his consent to all the Articles of the IIId Proposition, except one, concerning *Bishops* and their Revenues; yet in that he was not altogether wanting to the desires of the Parliament: for whatever did not plainly appear to be of *Divine Institution*, he allowed might be abrogated; so that he suffered *Archiepiscopacy* to be abolished, *Episcopal Jurisdiction* also, that is, the exercise of *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, and the state and priviledge of holding *Ecclesiastical Courts*; but he would not suffer the power of conferring Orders (*and administring Church-censures*) as being *Apostolical*, to be altered and lessened.

But at length the little *Rabbins of the Assembly* and *Pacificators* interweaving with the other Arguments, which he could better refute, that of invincible *Necessity*, and promising privately, that if he would consent to these at present, they would hereafter enlarge his Bonds, as also giving him hopes that the Parliament would condescend to him in other matters, provided in this he would remit somewhat of his strictness of Conscience; he consents that for the space of three years, *Orders* shall not be conferred by the *Bishops*, without the consent of *Presbyters*; nay, that the power of *Ordaining* shall be suspended, until twenty Divines of his chusing, and an Assembly called by the Parliament, do meet, determine, and settle the *Government* of the

Church; to which he promised to acquiesce, if the Parliament would do the like: In the mean time he is not against it, but that *Presbytery* may be setled for a tryal.

Abhorring the thought of Sacriledge, he would not suffer *Bishops* and *Church*-lands to be divided and alienated from the Church; but permitted them to be let out by lease for ninety nine years, paying a small yearly rent for the maintenance of the *Bishops*, and as a token of their *Tenure*, provided after the expiring of the Lease, they should return to the *Crown* to be employed for the use of the *Church*: which, in the mean time, he was firmly resolved to redeem with his money, and to restore them to the *Church-men* to whom in right they belonged.

Nor would he (being mindful of his Friends amidst his own dangers) consent to the XVIIIth Proposition, concerning Delinquents; but he allowed,

I. That they might be moderately fined.

II. That they may be debarred from the Kings presence and coming to Court: that some of them also may be banished, but not as Traitors, nor yet to lose their Lives and Estates, if they act to the contrary.

III. That for three years they be excluded from sitting in Parliament.

IV. That they might be brought to tryal, if it were thought fit, and be condignly punished, if they had acted any thing against the known Laws of *England*, (which certainly favoured the Kings Party): But he thought it unjust that any man should be punished for his Loyalty to him, according to the dictates of his Conscience, and the municipal Laws, by a Law made *ex post facto*. Yet he condescended to other Articles of the same Proposition, upon this condition, that pious and learned *Church-men*, free from

from ſcandal, might enjoy a third of their Livings, and not be totally deprived of the liberty of preaching.

He could not, as he ſaid, recal the Authorities which he had given to the *Marqueſs of Ormond*, at the very time when himſelf was confined to priſon: The *Parliament* agreed with him in the reſt: which ſucceeding, then, according to the Conceſſions in the XIXth Propoſition, the Parliament ſhould have the ſole adminiſtration of the affairs of *Ireland*. In the mean time, however, he wrote to the *Marqueſs of Ormond*, commanding him to refrain from the execution of his power, ſo long as the Conference and any hopes of Peace continued.

The K. makes ſome Propoſals.

Whilſt the Conference laſted, the *King*, that he might not ſtill ſuffer ſo hard uſage, and that he might try how the Members of *Parliament* were affected towards him, gave ſome very juſt and uſeful Propoſals to be ſent to the *Parliament*.

To which the Parl. in a great part conſent.

Firſt, he deſires, *That he may have leave to repair forthwith to* Weſtminſter, *or any of his houſes near* London, *where he may treat with his Parliament at nearer diſtance, with honour, ſafety, and freedom.* Which deſire, the *Parliament* having felt the pulſe of the *City*, and being encouraged under the hands of the moſt part and beſt of the Citizens, promiſed, ſo ſoon as the Propoſitions were granted, ſhould be allowed him.

Secondly, the *King* demands, *That he may be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of the Lands and Revenues of the Crown.*

Thirdly, *That he may have compenſation for his lawful Rights which the Parliament have thought fit to aboliſh.* To theſe alſo the Parliament willingly conſent.

Fourthly, *That by an Act of Oblivion the memory of all things that had been done in time of the War,*

might be abolished. To this Proposal they did not consent, but with cautions and limitations, that gave liberty to the *Parliamentarians* to bring Actions against any almost of the *Kings* Party.

The promising hopes of Peace:

Matters being near composed beyond all mens expectation, though perhaps not so as every one desired, the *Commissioners* for Pacification, full of thoughts of Peace, promised the same to the *King*, though in that they were false Prophets: for they thought (as well they might) that the *Parliament* would in some measure abate in their rigid demands, when the King to mollifie them, had stript himself of the Government both of *England* and *Ireland*. Nay, the glad hopes of Concord began to cherish the drooping minds of all people; which without doubt would have followed, had not factious and rebellious men, who by clandestine arts had already driven us into a War, now openly and with force of Arms disappointed the desired fruit of the Conference, and the Peace that was ready to be concluded. Now in what manner they accomplished that, it will be necessary I should with all possible sincerity relate.

Are disappointed by the Rebels:

In what manner.

In the heat of the Conference, that part of the Army which had prospered in the War, and was returned home victorious, commanded by *Fairfax*, whom *Ireton* as a *bad Genius* haunted, was encamped so near *London*, that in half a days time they might march thither and suppress their unprovided Adversaries, if any sudden occasion required. In the mean time *Fairfax*, *Ireton*, and the rest of the *Colonels* behaved themselves very submissively in publick, pretend *that they will always obey the Ordinances of Parliament, and that publick Peace will be to them of all men most acceptable; that so being eased from the fatigues and labours of War, they may mind their own affairs, and after so much toil and danger, at length*

The Commanders of the Army pretend to be pleased with Peace.

length enjoy rest and peace. But privately having consulted with the Members of *Parliament* of their own Faction, they suffer *Consults* to be held amongst the inferiour *Officers* and private *Souldiers* of the Army, and, at the instigation of their *Emissaries*, Petitions to be framed, wherein it was desired that the Treaty with the *King* should be broken up, and all the Enemies of the *Commonwealth* indifferently (thereby craftily glancing at the person of the *King*) brought to condign punishment: These also they caused to be printed and published, that they might feel the pulse of the people. Nor was it doubted, but that the chief *Commanders* and *Colonels* were the Authors of those Petitions; and that by their Emissaries (and particularly by *Hugh Peters*, a Renegado from, and the reproach of the Ministery, an impudent saucy fellow) *they were dispersed* into all places, whereby they wheadled the Souldiers, who in their own nature were sufficiently prone to Booty and Innovations.

They stir up the common Souldiers against it; and to destroy the King,

In the mean while, the Country people (whom we mentioned before to have made some stirs) being dispersed, and Garrisons and Governours placed in the several *Counties*, all the Souldiers of the Kingdom are commanded to repair to *Fairfax*'s Camp; who in great numbers, many following the prevailing Party, flocked together victorious and triumphant. *Ireton*, upon a rumour spread abroad amongst the people of a difference betwixt him and *Fairfax*, lurking privately in *Windsor*-Castle, and having called some of his Consorts of the *Lower House*, publishes a *Remonstrance*, with great ostentation of words and affected eloquence, wherein, in name of the *Army*, *by captious quirks and subtilties, he argues against the Peace made with the King, and the Remonstrance of his Majesty, nay and desires Justice against the King himself: That those Members who the*

The souldiers are drawn together near London.

Ireton *makes a Remonstrance against the Peace;*

And that in name of the Army.

year before had been impeached of High-Treaſon by the Army, might be brought to tryal; and that all who ſtaid in Parliament heretofore, when the Speakers and reſt of the Members of their Faction fled to the Army, ſhould be excluded: That the Souldiers Arrears ſhould be paid out of the Kings Revenue, and the Deans and Chapters Lands, to be diſtributed for this uſe eſpecially, and alſo for other publick charges: That the preſent Parliament ſhould be diſſolved, and a better courſe taken for the future that the people ſhould chuſe a Repreſentative which ſhould have the ſupreme adminiſtration of the Government. Theſe and ſeveral other things of that nature, he very imperiouſly demands.

The Army being called together,

The end of the Conference now approaching, (which the Republicans of both ſorts in the Parliament, endeavoured by all Arts to ſtave off and protract, that the Army might more conveniently joyn) the *Commanders* of the Army being informed from the *Iſle of Wight* of the progreſs of affairs, and of the opportunities that were proper for their turn, call a *Field-Council*, wherein all the *Colonels* and inferiour *Officers* meet; and there they give themſelves to faſting and prayer.

And a Faſt appointed,

☞

(Which was often abuſed by them)

For we muſt know, that theſe Sons of the *Earth* had great intimacy and correſpondence with Heaven, as they pretended; and when they were about to act any thing contrary to the Law of Nature, the Light of Reaſon, or the Laws of God and man, they uſed to begin the work with Prayers to *Almighty God*, in a doubtful manner propoſing the caſe; and the matter being firſt diſcuſſed between the *Majeſty* of *Heaven* and themſelves, they then, by turning and winding their Prayers, ſhape an Anſwer to their deſignes; which like a *divine Oracle* rendered to the praying inquirers, they impoſe upon the common Souldiers as an Article of Faith, though

the matter had been long before hatched in their thoughts: nor durſt any man gainſay it, who had not a mind to have his name daſht out of the Roll of the *Saints*. And hence it was that the people dreaded their Faſts and Prayers, as ominous Prodigies.

The Pageantry of their Devotion being over, *Ireton's Remonſtrance* was read, and applauded too by the Souldiers, as if it dropt from Heaven; they prefix to it the formidable title of the *Army*, as an Act and Deed approved by all, and order it to be preſented to the Parliament in the name of the *Army and People of England*, who if they had been called to give their votes, ſcarcely one of a thouſand would have conſented to it; and all the reſt could not but have curſed the perfidious Author of the villany, with all his Adherents, as the Bane and plague of mankind.

It is read and approved;

And preſented to the Parl. in name of the Army and People.

But the Lower Houſe making a virtue of the neceſſity of the times, take the courage to lay aſide for ſome time that *Remonſtrance*, and to apply themſelves to the examining and diſcuſſing of the *Royal Conceſſions* which then lay before them. The *Commanders* of the Army taking it very ill to be thus ſlighted by them, who ought to have thanked them for all the honour and dignity they enjoyed, ſent ſome Troops into the Iſle of *Wight*, who having ſeized the *King*, removed him out of the Iſland, and clapt him up priſoner in *Hurſt-Caſtle* oppoſite to the Iſland on the main-land-ſide, a narrow, naſty, and unwholſome place, by reaſon it is incompaſſed by the Sea. At the ſame time they march to *London*, and put Garriſons into the *Kings Palace*, and the Noblemens houſes adjoyning the Palace-yard and *Houſes of Parliament*, having poſted the Army in the neighbouring places about.

Nevertheleſs, the Lower Houſe perſiſts in conſidering of the Kings Conceſſions; at which the Commanders of the Army are angry, and carry the K. away from the Iſle of Wight.

They march to London *and poſt themſelves about the Parliament-houſe.*

The Souldiers hoped that this beginning would

put the dissenting Members into such a fear, that they would hide in holes and corners, (which had been very usual with them) and that men of their own Faction being sole Masters of the Parliament, they might do what they pleased under the cloak of the *Authority of Parliament*, which would justifie their Violence, and make what Laws soever might conduce to their profit and advantage.

Yet the Members meet,

But the event answered not their expectations: for most part of the Members, (as if at that time they had been assisted by divine inspiration) not at all terrified by the muttering and anger of the Souldiers, nor the clashing of Arms, thinking themselves sufficiently secure by their character of *Parliament-men*, meet to consult in a greater number than ordinary.

And debate about the Kings Concessions.

Both that day and the following, the *Lower House* debated hotly about the *Kings* Concessions, whilst in the mean time the *Republicans* of both sorts raise scruples, jangle, make parties, and with long Speeches protract the time about *Presbytery* and the *Covenant*, neither of which they liked; amongst whom no man was so fierce as Sir *Henry Vane*, who in the Isle of *Wight* had perswaded the King to grant no more, seeing he had already yielded so many and so great Priviledges to the *Parliament*, as he thought it neither lawful for them to expect nor take, which he promised also publickly to assent: This man, I say, inveighed bitterly against the Conditions of Peace, as if under the mask of *Concessions*, and the shew of setling Peace, Danger lay hid, and that his *Majesty* laid a Snare for subverting the publick Liberty of *Parliament* and *People*; and all this, that he might gain time for the whole Army to post themselves in the City.

They vote them to be a sufficient ground for a Peace,

At length a Vote is passed, *That the Kings Concessions were a sufficient ground for Peace.* This past by

by the voices of two hundred, hardly threescore opposing it. The *Lords* having next day assented to it in the same terms, the Parliament was adjourned for a week, till that Commotion might be somewhat appeased. *Commissioners* are forthwith sent from the *House of Commons* to acquaint *Fairfax* and the Commanders of the Army with the matter.

The House of Lords *agreeing to it.*

This so incensed the *Oligarchick Rebels*, that the Speaker of the House of *Commons*, who had already greedily swallowed down their poyson, or at least temporized and turned to either side as the Faction prevailed, threatned forthwith publickly in the *House, That they would never be suffered any more to meet in Parliament, if they obstinately persisted in that opinion.* And indeed the day appointed for the next *Session*, some *Colonels* guarded by a Regiment or two of Foot, and a Regiment of Horse, beset all the avenues to the *House of Commons*, apprehend forty *Members* of the more resolute and wise, who dissented from them; debar about one hundred and fifty more from entering the House; and suffer none to go in but such as they knew to be devoted to their Faction. Some had slipt in undiscovered, by a Note they call out under pretext of speaking with some Friend or Client at the door; and though they alleadged the authority and priviledge of Parliament, yet they seize and hurry them away in the very Court.

This incensed the Oligarchick Rebels.

The Commanders of the Army beset the Parl. house; imprison many Members; debar others from entering;

Some they carry away by force out of the House.

The captive *Members* being many ways tossed and abused, are exposed to derision, and the miseries of a long and nasty imprisonment; amongst whom were many who having asserted the Parliament-Cause, as *Generals*, *Governours*, and *Colonels*, were thus thanked for their good services. Nay, and *William Brynn*, a fierce Asserter of the Opinions he once entertained, that indefatigable Author of voluminous Writings for the Parliament, stuck fast in

And abuse the Captives.

in the same mire with the rest; the Spectators every where admiring the inscrutable Judgments of God, who suffered them to be so unworthily treated by their *Slaves* and *Servants*, who themselves were the Subjects that first took up Arms against their *King*, and audaciously laid hands on him. All this was done under the honest and specious colour of purging and reforming the *House*.

The Oligarchick Faction, to the number of about forty men, snatches the Authority: Who are still over-ruled by the Souldiers.

Thus the Lower House is reduced to a *Junto* of a few men, to wit, the eighth part of the just number, and these wholly enslaved to the Army, whose *Commanders* coming as freely into the *House* as the *Rumpers* went into the Camp, they daily conferred Notes together; and it is first resolved in a *Council of War*, what was to be proposed to be enacted in *Parliament*, which then served under the Army, and lent them Authority to palliate their Machinations.

Of so many hundred *Members*, there scarcely remained forty in the *House*, a number unfit to bear the name of the *Commons* of *England*; and these not onely the least, but the most part consisting of a remnant of the dregs of the *House*; and many of them *Commanders* in the Army. So that there remained nothing of a *Parliament* but the name; the rest abominating such horrid wickedness, and shunning their company and conversation; amongst whom were some who being deluded with the sham of Conscience, had espoused the Party of the *Republicans*.

They enact concerning the highest affairs, and of bringing the King to a tryal.

Thus a few fellows (about twenty of them for the most part continually dissenting) blush not to usurp to themselves alone the supreme power of ordering the affairs of *England*, of bringing the *King* to a tryal, making and abrogating the Laws of their Country, and overturning the ancient and fundamental Government of the *Nation*. They confirm the Vote for *Non Addresses*, which had

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been craftily and surreptitiously made, and afterwards repealed by both Houses in full number. But the other Votes, *for having a Conference with the King*, and especially that *which declared the Kings Concessions to be a sufficient ground for a Peace*, they rescind and scornfully raze out of their Journal; as an Act unworthy of *Parliament*. New Orders in place of the former, pass in this House of *Commons*, whereby they invade the Government by Votes, which before they had snatched by Arms.

They confirm the Votes of None Addresses, *and rescind that concerning a Conference with the King.*

They first vote, *That all Power resides in the People.*

They pass Votes preliminary to the Kings murder.

Secondly, *That that Power belongs to the Peoples Representatives* (meaning themselves) *in the House of Commons.*

Thirdly, *That the Votes of the Commons have the force of a Law, without the consent of the King or House of Lords*, a * plain Horatian Law, *that what the lowest Order of the People enacteth, binds the whole body of them.*

* M. Horatius *Cons.* of Rome *caused a Law to pass*, Ut quod tributim plebes jussisset, populum teneret; *that is, That what Laws or Orders the Com-Counc. or Tribes of* Rome *should make, should oblige the body of the Commonwealth by which the Senate & Nobility lost their power; & way was made for the turning that* State *into a* Democracy, *to the ruine of it.* Liv. l. 3. c. 55

Fourthly, *That to take Arms and make War against the Representatives of the People or the Parliament, is High-Treason.*

Fifthly, *That the King himself took up Arms against the Parliament, and that therefore he is guilty of all the blood shed in this Civil War* (that so they might seem to excuse themselves of the Villany) *and ought by his own blood to expiate it.*

They erect a Trib. of subjects against the K.

These were the Preludes to that most horrid and abominable Villany, (I tremble to mention it) which it behoved them to bring about by degrees: for trusting now to their great power, which indeed was as great as they thought fit to take to themselves, they had the boldness to erect a new *Tribunal* of most abject wretches against the King, to which they give the name of the *High Court of Justice*, thinking that its name might procure it reverence.

year before had been impeached of High-Treaſon by the Army, might be brought to tryal; and that all who ſtaid in Parliament heretofore, when the Speakers and reſt of the Members of their Faction fled to the Army, ſhould be excluded: That the Souldiers Arrears ſhould be paid out of the Kings Revenue, and the Deans and Chapters Lands, to be diſtributed for this uſe eſpecially, and alſo for other publick charges: That the preſent Parliament ſhould be diſſolved, and a better courſe taken for the future that the people ſhould chuſe a Repreſentative which ſhould have the ſupreme adminiſtration of the Government. Theſe and ſeveral other things of that nature, he very imperiouſly demands.

The Army being called together,

The end of the Conference now approaching, (which the Republicans of both ſorts in the Parliament, endeavoured by all Arts to ſtave off and protract, that the Army might more conveniently joyn) the *Commanders* of the Army being informed from the *Iſle of Wight* of the progreſs of affairs, and of the opportunities that were proper for their turn, call a *Field-Council*, wherein all the *Colonels* and inferiour *Officers* meet; and there they give themſelves to faſting and prayer.

And a Faſt appointed, ☞ *(Which was often abuſed by them)*

For we muſt know, that theſe Sons of the *Earth* had great intimacy and correſpondence with Heaven, as they pretended; and when they were about to act any thing contrary to the Law of Nature, the Light of Reaſon, or the Laws of God and man, they uſed to begin the work with Prayers to *Almighty God*, in a doubtful manner propoſing the caſe; and the matter being firſt diſcuſſed between the *Majeſty* of *Heaven* and themſelves, they then, by turning and winding their Prayers, ſhape an Anſwer to their deſignes; which like a *divine Oracle* rendered to the praying inquirers, they impoſe upon the common Souldiers as an Article of Faith, though

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the matter had been long before hatched in their thoughts: nor durſt any man gainſay it, who had not a mind to have his name daſht out of the Roll of the *Saints*. And hence it was that the people dreaded their Faſts and Prayers, as ominous Prodigies.

The Pageantry of their Devotion being over, *Ireton's Remonſtrance* was read, and applauded too by the Souldiers, as if it dropt from Heaven; they prefix to it the formidable title of the *Army*, as an Act and Deed approved by all, and order it to be preſented to the Parliament in the name of the *Army and People of England*, who if they had been called to give their votes, ſcarcely one of a thouſand would have conſented to it; and all the reſt could not but have curſed the perfidious Author of the villany, with all his Adherents, as the Bane and plague of mankind.

It is read and approved;

And preſented to the Parl. in name of the Army and People.

But the Lower Houſe making a virtue of the neceſſity of the times, take the courage to lay aſide for ſome time that *Remonſtrance*, and to apply themſelves to the examining and diſcuſſing of the *Royal Conceſſions* which then lay before them. The *Commanders* of the Army taking it very ill to be thus ſlighted by them, who ought to have thanked them for all the honour and dignity they enjoyed, ſent ſome Troops into the Iſle of *Wight*, who having ſeized the *King*, removed him out of the Iſland, and clapt him up priſoner in *Hurſt-Caſtle* oppoſite to the Iſland on the main-land-ſide, a narrow, naſty, and unwholſome place, by reaſon it is incompaſſed by the Sea. At the ſame time they march to *London*, and put Garriſons into the *Kings Palace*, and the Noblemens houſes adjoyning the Palace-yard and *Houſes* of *Parliament*, having poſted the Army in the neighbouring places about.

Nevertheleſs, the Lower Houſe perſiſts in conſidering of the Kings Conceſſions; at which the Commanders of the Army are angry, and carry the K. away from the Iſle of Wight.

They march to London *and poſt themſelves about the Parliament-houſe.*

The Souldiers hoped that this beginning would

put the dissenting Members into such a fear, that they would hide in holes and corners, (which had been very usual with them) and that men of their own Faction being sole Masters of the Parliament, they might do what they pleased under the cloak of the *Authority of Parliament*, which would justifie their Violence, and make what Laws soever might conduce to their profit and advantage.

Yet the Members meet,

But the event answered not their expectations: for most part of the Members, (as if at that time they had been assisted by divine inspiration) not at all terrified by the muttering and anger of the Souldiers, nor the clashing of Arms, thinking themselves sufficiently secure by their character of *Parliament-men*, meet to consult in a greater number than ordinary.

And debate about the Kings Concessions.

Both that day and the following, the *Lower House* debated hotly about the *Kings* Concessions, whilst in the mean time the *Republicans* of both sorts raise scruples, jangle, make parties, and with long Speeches protract the time about *Presbytery* and the *Covenant*, neither of which they liked; amongst whom no man was so fierce as Sir *Henry Vane*, who in the Isle of *Wight* had perswaded the King to grant no more, seeing he had already yielded so many and so great Priviledges to the *Parliament*, as he thought it neither lawful for them to expect nor take, which he promised also publickly to assent: This man, I say, inveighed bitterly against the Conditions of Peace, as if under the mask of *Concessions*, and the shew of setling Peace, Danger lay hid, and that his *Majesty* laid a Snare for subverting the publick Liberty of *Parliament* and *People*; and all this, that he might gain time for the whole Army to post themselves in the City.

They vote them to be a sufficient ground for a Peace,

At length a Vote is passed, *That the Kings Concessions were a sufficient ground for Peace.* This past by

by the voices of two hundred, hardly threescore opposing it. The *Lords* having next day assented to it in the same terms, the Parliament was adjourned for a week, till that Commotion might be somewhat appeased. *Commissioners* are forthwith sent from the *House of Commons* to acquaint *Fairfax* and the Commanders of the Army with the matter.

The House of Lords *agreeing to it.*

This so incensed the *Oligarchick Rebels*, that the Speaker of the House of *Commons*, who had already greedily swallowed down their poyson, or at least temporized and turned to either side as the Faction prevailed, threatned forthwith publickly in the *House, That they would never be suffered any more to meet in Parliament, if they obstinately persisted in that opinion.* And indeed the day appointed for the next *Session*, some *Colonels* guarded by a Regiment or two of Foot, and a Regiment of Horse, beset all the avenues to the *House of Commons*, apprehend forty *Members* of the more resolute and wise, who dissented from them; debar about one hundred and fifty more from entering the House; and suffer none to go in but such as they knew to be devoted to their Faction. Some had slipt in undiscovered, by a Note they call out under pretext of speaking with some Friend or Client at the door; and though they alleadged the authority and priviledge of Parliament, yet they seize and hurry them away in the very Court.

This incensed the Oligarchick Rebels.

The Commanders of the Army beset the Parl. house; imprison many Members; debar others from entering;

Some they carry away by force out of the House.

The captive *Members* being many ways tossed and abused, are exposed to derision, and the miseries of a long and nasty imprisonment; amongst whom were many who having asserted the Parliament-Cause, as *Generals*, *Governours*, and *Colonels*, were thus thanked for their good services. Nay, and *William Brynn*, a fierce Asserter of the Opinions he once entertained, that indefatigable Author of voluminous Writings for the Parliament, stuck fast in

And abuse the Captives.

in the ſame mire with the reſt; the Spectators every where admiring the inſcrutable Judgments of God, who ſuffered them to be ſo unworthily treated by their *Slaves* and *Servants*, who themſelves were the Subjects that firſt took up Arms againſt their *King*, and audaciouſly laid hands on him. All this was done under the honeſt and ſpecious colour of purging and reforming the *Houſe*.

The Oligarchick Faction, to the number of about forty men, ſnatches the Authority: Who are ſtill over-ruled by the ſouldiers.

Thus the Lower Houſe is reduced to a *Junto* of a few men, to wit, the eighth part of the juſt number, and theſe wholly enſlaved to the Army, whoſe *Commanders* coming as freely into the *Houſe* as the *Rumpers* went into the Camp, they daily conferred Notes together; and it is firſt reſolved in a *Council of War*, what was to be propoſed to be enacted in *Parliament*, which then ſerved under the Army, and lent them Authority to palliate their Machinations.

Of ſo many hundred *Members*, there ſcarcely remained forty in the *Houſe*, a number unfit to bear the name of the *Commons* of *England*; and theſe not onely the leaſt, but the moſt part conſiſting of a remnant of the dregs of the *Houſe*; and many of them *Commanders* in the Army. So that there remained nothing of a *Parliament* but the name; the reſt abominating ſuch horrid wickedneſs, and ſhunning their company and converſation; amongſt whom were ſome who being deluded with the ſham of Conſcience, had eſpouſed the Party of the *Republicans*.

They enact concerning the higheſt affairs, and of bringing the King to a tryal.

Thus a few fellows (about twenty of them for the moſt part continually diſſenting) bluſh not to uſurp to themſelves alone the ſupreme power of ordering the affairs of *England*, of bringing the *King* to a tryal, making and abrogating the Laws of their Country, and overturning the ancient and fundamental Government of the *Nation*. They confirm the Vote for *Non Addreſſes*, which had

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They firſt vote, *That all Power reſides in the People.*

They paſs Votes preliminary to the Kings murder.

Secondly, *That that Power belongs to the Peoples Repreſentatives* (meaning themſelves) *in the Houſe of Commons.*

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Fifthly, *That the King himſelf took up Arms againſt the Parliament, and that therefore he is guilty of all the bloud ſhed in this Civil War* (that ſo they might ſeem to excuſe themſelves of the Villany) *and ought by his own bloud to expiate it.*

They erect a Trib. of ſubjects againſt the K.

Theſe were the Preludes to that moſt horrid and abominable Villany, (I tremble to mention it) which it behoved them to bring about by degrees: for truſting now to their great power, which indeed was as great as they thought fit to take to themſelves, they had the boldneſs to erect a new *Tribunal* of moſt abject wretches againſt the King, to which they give the name of the *High Court of Juſtice*, thinking that its name might procure it reverence.

And appoint 150 Judges of their own Faction to do the fact.

reverence. In this *Mock-Court* they appoint an hundred and fifty Judges, (that they might in number at least represent the people) the most factious Sticklers of the whole *Faction*; to whom they give power of arraigning, trying, judging, and condemning *Charles Stuart King of England.*

Some Nobles *and Judges also.*

In the number of these, they appoint six *Earls* out of the *House of Lords*, and the *Judges* also of the Kingdom lately chosen by themselves. But the greater part consist of the *Commanders of the Army*, who first conspired the murder of the King, and the *Members* of the *House of Commons* who were the most inveterate enemies to Monarchy. The rest were Rascals raked out of the Kennel of *London*, or the Neighbourhood. Amongst these some were *Coblers*, Brewers, Silversmiths, and other Mechanicks, the greater part were Bankrupt Spendthrifts, Debauchees and Whoremasters, who nevertheless by the Disciples of the Sect were called *Saints.* Nay, there was none of them but did expect impunity for his cheating the Publick, Sacriledge, Bribery, and other enormous Crimes; or did hope to glut his Avarice with the *Kings* Revenue, Houses, Furniture, or gainful places to be conferred upon him for so bold an attempt: or, in a word, that was not drawn in and allured up to the horrid fact by the tamperings, threats, and promises of *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and the other *Commanders* of the Army.

Commanders of the Army, Members of the House of Com. Mechanicks, Bankrupts,

All obnoxious men.

The Upper H. is slighted.

In the mean time there was hardly any regard had to the Lords; and it was commonly believed, that being now terrified by so many and so great dangers, they would of their own accords absent from the House, except four or five that were slaves to that *Republican* Faction. The *Rebels* thought that the authority of these was sufficient to confirm any attempt whatsoever, as they had already oftener

But the Republicans send them their Bills to be confirmed

than

than once experienced. Nor indeed were their hopes altogether frustrated. However, when the matter came to the push, their luck proved somewhat worse than they expected: for a few *Lords* used daily to come to the *House*; but that day when the Bill for trying the *King* was to be brought to the *Lords House* for their consent, unexpectedly seventeen *Lords* were present, who all (not excepting those who favoured the *Republicans*) not onely deny their consent, but cast the Bill over the Bar, *as destructive and contrary to Law.*

They are rejected as hurtful and unlawful.

This inraged the *Oligarchick Rebels*, and put them upon thoughts of revenge, taking it hainously that so publick an affront and disgrace had been put upon them. However, at present they thought it enough to dash all the *Lords* out of the number of the Kings Judges.

Wherefore the Lords are dasht out of the number of the Kings Judges,

By and by also the *Judges* of the *Kingdom* were struck out of that black List, because being privately asked their opinions in that affair, (though through the interest of this Faction they had been lately by authority of Parliament raised to their places) they had answered, *That it was against the known and received Laws and Customs of* England *to bring the King to a Tryal.*

And the Judges of the Kingdom, as contrary to their Bill.

For a *President* of this *Court*, who might match it in fame and reputation, they pitch upon one *John Bradshaw*, a base-born broken Pettifogger, a fellow of a brazen forehead, and an insolent and sawcy tongue, who a little before was of no value amongst those of his own Gang. One *Cooke* they make Attorney-General, a fellow of the same stamp, poor, guilty, (as was reported) of Polygamy, who had plaid a thousand tricks and cheats to get Bread, and now was ready to do any villany in hopes of profit.

They chuse a President of the Court,

And an Attorney-General.

They privately consult for some days about the matter

matter and form of the Arraignment, or the manner of perpetrating the Villany; where in drawing the Kings Indictment, one *Doriſlaus* a Doctor of the Laws, a *German*, who was either baniſhed or had fled his Country, took the greateſt pains.

In the mean time the Presbyterian Miniſters cry out againſt it.

In the mean time all the *Presbyterian Miniſters of London*, in a manner, and more out of ſeveral *Counties*; yea, and ſome out of the *Independents* alſo, declare againſt the thing in their Sermons from the Pulpit, in Conferences, monitory Letters, Petitions, Proteſtations, and publick Remonſtrances. They earneſtly beg, *That contrary to ſo many dreadful Imprecations and Oaths, contrary to publick and private Faith confirmed by Declarations and Promiſes, contrary to the Law of Nations, the Word of God and ſacred Rules of Religion, nay, and contrary to the welfare of the State, they would not defile their own hands and the Kingdom with Royal Bloud.* The *Scots* by their Commiſſioners proteſt againſt it. The Embaſſadours of the *States General of the United Provinces* (if they faithfully perform'd their Maſters Orders) intercede. Some Engliſh Noblemen, to wit, the *Earl of Southampton*, the *Duke of Richmond*, the *Marqueſs of Hertford*, and *Earl of Lyndſey*, &c. do what lies in their power; they neither ſpare prayers nor money; offer themſelves as Hoſtages, or, if the *Republicans* demanded it, their lives, as being onely guilty, if the King had offended in any thing. The people whiſper their rage, for that was all they could *now* do; hardly reſtraining their unarmed fury. Our preſent *King*, then Prince *CHARLES*, uſed all means to aſſiſt his Father in this danger. Beſides, the Embaſſadours of the *States General*, whom he had procured to be ſent, he daily diſpatched Agents as well from the *Prince of Orange* as himſelf, and ſuch as were Relations, Kinſmen, and Friends to *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and the reſt of the Conſpirators;

The Scots alſo proteſt againſt it. The States General intercede.

Engliſh Lords offer themſelves Hoſtages for the King.

The whole People rages.

ſpirators; who being warranted with full power, might by prayers, promiſes, threats, or what arguments they judged fit, either diſſwade them from that unparallel'd Barbarity, or at leaſt for ſome time prevail with them to delay the execution of the Villany.

Nor was *Bradſhaw* the bloudy Preſident ſecure from violent hands; for one *Burghill* armed with ſword and piſtol, watched him one night behind *Gray*'s Inn-gate when he was to come home late; but miſſing of his deſigne that night, becauſe *Bradſhaw* did not come home, next day being betrayed by one *Cooke*, to whom he had diſcovered the matter, he was brought before the *Parricides*. However, his Guards being drunk, finding an occaſion of an eſcape, he ſaved his own life, having onely laid in wait for another mans.

Burghill *lies in wait for* Bradſhaw;

But in vain, and with danger of his life.

But all was in vain: for the *Rebels* ſlighting theſe things, pretend *Gods providence* and the motions of the *Holy Ghoſt*, for their warrant and ſecurity. *Peters* a brazen-faced Hypocrite, who being diſgracefully whipt out of *Cambridge*, ever after that clove cloſe to the *Schiſmaticks*, bids them from the Pulpit, *Go on and proſper*; that now was the time *When the Saints ſhould bind Princes in chains, and their Nobles with fetters of iron*: ſo lewdly did that profane Knave interpret holy Scripture; telling them, *That they need not queſtion but this Prophecy was to be fulfilled by them*: and in the Sermon he addreſſes himſelf to the *holy Judges* (the title he thought fit to give them) *and proteſts, that he was certain there were in the Army five thouſand men, no leſs Saints than thoſe that converſed with God himſelf in Heaven*. Then kneeling in the Pulpit with floods of forced tears, and lifted up hands, he earneſtly begs, *in the name of the People of* England, *That they would do Juſtice againſt* CHARLES,

But all attempts are in vain.

Peters *from the Pulpit encouraging the Judges.*

and

and not ſuffer Berkſtead *the enemy to eſcape.* Nay, he moſt inſolently inveighed againſt *Monarchy* it ſelf, and ſtraining his virulent wit, he relates the Hiſtory, *How the Trees chuſing a King, and the Vine and Olive-tree refuſing the office, they ſubmitted themſelves to the ſharper government of the bramble; and compared Kingly government to briers.* By ſuch kind of Arguments he ſtirs up and confirms thoſe new Judges, who of their own nature were already but too much enraged and fiercely bent againſt the *King.*

Accuſers and Witneſſes againſt the K. are cited by a Herald.

There was another beſides *Peters* the Preacher, an *Herald*, one Serjeant *Dendy* alſo employed, who (being environed with a Guard of Horſe, for fear of being ſtoned) by ſound of Trumpet, cited all thoſe to appear who had any crime to object againſt the *King*; and this he did firſt in *Weſtminſter*-hall, and then in the moſt publick places of the *City.*

The King is brought to the Bar.

Before theſe Judges of the new Court, the moſt Auguſt *Charles*, already ſtript of three moſt flouriſhing *Kingdoms* by the *Rebels*, and having now no more but *Life* to be deprived of, is brought without the leaſt ſigne in his countenance of any diſcompoſure of mind.

Is indicted in name of the People of England.

His indictment is read, wherein he is accuſed, *In the name of the People of* England, *of Treaſon, Tyranny, Murders, and of all Rapines that were occaſioned by the War*; with the higheſt aggravations of the Crimes. But the whole ſtreſs of the Indictment lay in this, *That he had made War againſt the Parliament*; which the Army under the *Parliaments* pay had long ago trampled under foot, ſcarcely any ſhadow of it remaining. Great was the company of Spectators, who with groans, ſighs, and teares, lamented the condition of the beſt of *Princes.*

Nor without injuſtice can I paſs over the brave action

action of the heroick Lady *Fairfax*, Daughter to the Lord *Vere*, who out of a Belcony that lookt into the Court, cried out publickly, *That that was a lye; that the tenth part of the People was not guilty of that Villany, but that it was a contrivance of the Traytor* Cromwel. And this ſhe did with great danger of her life.

The Lady Fairfax *publickly contradicting it.*

The King having heard this Indictment, with a majeſty in his looks and words, that cannot be expreſt, puts the queſtion to thoſe new Judges, *By what Authority they brought their King to the Bar, contrary to the publick Faith which was very lately made to him when he entered into a Conference with the Members of both Houſes.* By *what lawful Authority*, ſaid he emphatically. *He knew indeed there were many unlawful and powerful Combinations of men in the world, as of Thieves and Robbers by the High-ways. He deſires they would tell him by what Authority they had taken that Power, (ſuch as it was upon them) and he would be willing to anſwer; but if they could not, he bids them think well upon it, before they go farther from one ſin to a greater: That he had a Truſt committed to him by God by an ancient and lawful Deſcent; and that he would not betray it by anſwering to a new and unlawful Authority.*

He calls into queſtion the Authority of the Court.

The Preſident replying, *That he was brought to anſwer in the name of the People of* England, *of which he was elected King.* The *King* made anſwer, *That* England *was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for near theſe thouſand years. That he did ſtand more for the liberty of the People, by rejecting their uſurped Power, than any of them that came to be his pretended Judges did by ſupporting it. That he did not come there as ſubmitting to the Court: That he would ſtand as much for the Priviledge of the Houſe of Commons as any man there whatſoever; but that he ſaw no Houſe of Lords there, that might, together*

Which the Preſident affirming to be derived from the People that choſe the King, the King denies it

with a King, constitute a Parliament*. That if they would shew him a legal authority, warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or warranted by the Constitutions of the Kingdom, he would answer: for that he did avow, that it was as great a sin to withstand lawful Authority, as it is to submit to a tyrannical or any ways unlawful Authority. The President in the mean time often interrupted him, and at length commanding him to be carried back to Prison.

* But then that neither one nor both the Houses, nor any other Tribunal upon Earth, had any power to judge the King of England; much less a parcel of pack'd Judges of the Lower House, who were masked only with the oppressed power of that Court.

The King is again and a third time brought to the bar.

Yet was the good King a second and a third time brought before the Bar of the Common People, where the President puts him in mind of his Indictment, and commands him to answer to the Articles brought against him, or otherways to listen to his sentence. But the King still protested against the Authority of the Court; affirming, That his life was not so dear to him, as his Honour, Conscience, the Laws and the Liberties of the People; which that they might not perish all at once, there were great reasons why he could not make his defence before those Judges, nor acknowledge a new form of Judicature: for what power had ever Subjects, or by what Laws was it granted them, to erect a Court against their King? That it could not be warranted by Gods Laws, which on the contrary command obedience to Princes; not by the Laws of the Land, since by them no Impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his name: nor do they allow the House of Commons the power of judging the meanest Subject of England. And that lastly, that pretended Power could not flow from any Authority or Commission from the People, since they had never asked the question of the tenth man (he might have said, of the thousandth) of the Kingdom.

And being about to alledge Reasons against the Authority of the Court,

The President interrupting him again, as before, takes

takes him up now more insolently, *bids him be mindful of his condition: tells him, that the Court is sufficiently satisfied, and do affirm their own Jurisdiction*; and that no Reasons were to be heard that declined the Authority of the Court. *But shew me that Court*, answered the King, *where Reason is not to be heard. We shew it you here*, replied the President; *and the next time you come, you'll know more of their pleasure.* But the King urged, *That at least he might be permitted to give in his Reasons in writing; to which if they could give him satisfaction, he would not decline their Jurisdiction.* Here the President, not satisfied to deny his modest suit, but falling also into a heat, *commanded the Prisoner to be carried away*; who made no other return but this, *Remember it is your King whom you refuse to hear: it will be in vain for my Subjects to expect Justice from you, when you will not hear your King make his lawful defence.*

The President interrupts and takes him up.

Now the King is the fourth time brought before this unjust *Court of Justice*; where the *President*, in his Scarlet-robe, bitterly taxes the *King* of Contumacy, and runs out in commendation of the Patience of the Court. He bids him *at length submit to the Court, or to expect his Sentence.* But the King constantly refuses to plead before them; telling them however, *That he had something to say that concerned the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, wherein he desires to be heard before the Lords and Commons.* Yet they refuse to grant him that favour, which is not wont to be denied to men of the meanest condition; *pretending it would delay and put a stop to Justice.* To which the King replied, *That it would be better to admit the delay of a day or two, than to hasten a Sentence that might bring on that trouble and perpetual inconvenience to the Kingdom, that the Child that is unborn might repent it. For if I had had*, said he, *respect to my Life more than the*

The King is a fourth time brought to the bar; refuses to plead:

Desires a Conference with the Lords and Commons.

Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberties of the Subject, certainly I ſhould have made a particular defence for my ſelf: for by that at leaſtwiſe I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will paſs upon me; and that the Zeal to my Country had not overborn the care that I have of my own preſervation, I ſhould have gone another way to work than I have done. Now ſince a haſty Sentence once paſt may be ſooner repented than recalled, I deſire, that having ſomething to ſay more for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, than for my own particular, I may be heard before Sentence be given.

One of the Judges prickt in Conſcience.

Upon which *Colonel Downs*, one of the Judges, being prickt in Conſcience, (contrary to what had been privately agreed upon amongſt the Judges) deſires that they may withdraw and debate that Propoſal privately. Though this extreamly vexed the *Preſident*, *Cromwel*, and moſt of the reſt, yet that they might not ſeem publickly to quarrel among themſelves, they all withdraw into an adjoyning Chamber; where *Downs* being paid off with flouts and jeers, intermingled with no ſmall threats, they return wonderfully unanimous and agreeing into *Court*.

The Preſident in a ſet-ſpeech makes way for the Sentence.

Then the *Preſident*, with the ſame inhumane barbarity that he began, proceeds to Sentence; having premiſed a long Speech, wherein he aggravates the Contumacy of the *King*, and the haynouſneſs of the Crime; he aſſerts the *Power of Parliaments*, producing inſtances both foreign and domeſtick, (eſpecially from *Scotland*, how aptly the *Scots* are to look to it) wherein the *People* have puniſhed their *Kings*; and that *the Power of the People of* England *over their King, was not leſs than that of other Nations; that the King's guilt was greater than that of all others, ſeeing that (according to the wiſh of* Caligula) *he had endeavoured to have cut off the head of the whole Nation,*

by

by undertaking a War againſt the Parliament.

Having ended his Harangue, he orders the Sentence to be read, in theſe words: *That whereas the Commons of* England *in Parliament had appointed them an High Court of Juſtice for the trying of* Charles Steuart *King of* England; *before whom he had been three times convented, and at firſt time a Charge of High-Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanours, was read in the behalf of the Kingdom of* England, *&c. Which Charge being read unto him as aforeſaid, he the ſaid* Charles Steuart *was required to give his Anſwer, but he refuſed ſo to do, &c.*

Orders the Sentence *to be read.*

For all which Treaſons and Crimes, the Court doth adjudge, That he the ſaid Charles Steuart, *as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and a publick Enemy, ſhall be put to death by ſevering his Head from his Body.*

The Sentence being pronounced, ſixty ſeven Judges that were preſent, as lifted up by the conſcience of the Villany they had conſpired in, at the deſire of the Preſident, (the thing having been privately concerted) ſtand up and confirm the ſame; the reſt, (amongſt whom was *Fairfax*) for the horrour of the Crime, not daring to be preſent.

All the Judges that were preſent, ſtand up and confirm the Sentence.

Then was his *ſacred Majeſty* hurried away by the Souldiers to be by them (moſt like to his Saviour) ſcoffed at before he ſuffered; who laying aſide all reverence to the name of a *King*, as if they led their Captive in triumph with cruel barbarity, (the aforeſaid *Peters* ſetting them on) whereas in the beginning they cry'd, *Juſtice, Juſtice*; ſo now they cry, *Execution, Execution*; like the *Jews* of old, *Crucifie him, Crucifie him*: They ſpit upon his Clothes as he paſſed by; nay, one or two had the boldneſs to ſpit in his majeſtick face, which one of his Judges, a *Colonel*, took notice of to many then preſent, commending the bravery of his Souldiers;

The ſouldiers carry away the King, ſcoff at him,

And barbarouſly uſe him.

and more beheld with horrour: They blew the ſmoak of *Tobacco*, a thing which they knew *his Majeſty* hated, in his ſacred mouth, throwing their broken Pipes in his way as he paſſed along: They alſo enjoyn inhumane rudeneſs to others, beating thoſe who with a hat or bow ſaluted him as he paſſed; nay, whilſt one more compaſſionate than the reſt, ſighing, ſaid, *God have mercy upon him*, they knockt him down dead: Ruſhing into his Chamber both by day and by night, they allowed him no retirement, nor any private diſcourſe not ſo much as with his Chaplain: When with much ado they had ſuffered one Biſhop onely, I mean, of *London*, to have acceſs unto him, with loud laughing they interrupt him in paying his Devotions according to the Rite of the Church of *England*; and even then when he was preparing for his laſt, they diſturb him with ſcoffs and frivolous and impertinent Queſtions.

His Majeſty behaves himſelf courageouſly and prudently,

But he with great preſence of mind, whilſt they cried out, *Juſtice* and *Execution*, turning to thoſe that were about him, ſaid, *Alas, poor Souls, for a piece of money they would do ſo for their Commanders.* Wiping off the Spittle when they ſpit upon him, all that came from him was, *Chriſt hath ſuffered more for my ſake.* He ſo convincingly confuted the *Commanders*, *Souldiers*, and other impertinent *Anabaptiſts*, who with their cavils and ſilly diſputes came to tempt him, that he put moſt of them to ſilence. He took ſo little notice of their ridiculous mirth, that by contemning it, he diſappointed their ſawcy petulance. Nay, though he was ſtraitned with time, and diſturbed with the noiſe of barbarous Souldiers, yet with a religious and ſedate mind, ſpending his time in the confeſſion of his ſins, forgiving his Enemies, taking the *Sacrament*, holy reading and meditation, and in all the other duties of

And prepares himſelf for his laſt ſufferings.

Piety,

Piety, he finds the favour of *God* amidſt the hatred of *men*, and vanquiſhes and drives away the terrours of death even before they approach.

Whilſt theſe things are done openly in view of the people, the execrable and mercileſs Judges, in the mean time, in their private Cabals allot every one the part he is to act, what words and Geſtures they are to uſe; conſulting together about the time, place, kind, and all the manner and ſolemnity of the Murder: where, I am aſhamed to mention, what diſmal kinds of death were propoſed for condemned *Cæſar*, even before the Sentence, according as the wantonneſs, cruelty, or hatred of the ſeveral tempers did ſuggeſt, though I have been informed of it by moſt credible perſons. Some vote that his Head and Quarters may be ſet up in publick places, a puniſhment inflicted upon Traytors, as a laſting Infamy after their death; ſome would have him hanged after the manner of Murderers, Robbers, and Thieves; others again are of opinion that he ſhould ſuffer in his *Crown* and *Robes*, as a Monument of the Power of the *People* over their King. At length they agree that it will ſuffice, that he loſe his head upon a Scaffold to be erected before the Banquetting-Houſe of *White-hall*, that from the ſame place where he uſed to mount the Throne, and appear in the ſacred pomp of *Majeſty*, he might paſs to the Block, and caſt off the Ornaments of *Royalty*, where he commonly put them on. This was the Triumph, theſe the Trophies of a victorious Revenge. And becauſe they had been told, that the *King* would not ſubmit his Neck to the Ax of his *Subjects*, they order iron Rings and Staples to be made upon the Scaffold, that if he reſiſted, he might be drawn down to the Block by the head and hands.

The Judges, before the publication of Sentence, conſult about the kind, manner, and time of the Murder.

But it is not to be omitted, that amongſt theſe

Propoſals are tendered unto him, upon granting which, he is offered his life.

Preliminaries to death, ſome Souldiers, the day before the execution, offered Propoſals; which if he would at length aſſent to, they promiſed to grant him life and the name of *King*. But having heard one or two of them read, he rejected them, ſaying to this effect: *I had rather ſuffer a thouſand deaths, than ſo to proſtitute my Honour and the Liberty of my People.*

He is permitted to take his leave of his Children.

What the King gave them in charge.

And, that I may not paſs by unmentioned the leaſt piece of humanity ſhew'd to him, they give him leave to take his Farewel of his Children; to wit, of the Lady *Elizabeth* then eleven years old, and the Duke of *Glouceſter* nine. Here the King charged to tell the *Queen*, that his thoughts had never ſtrayed from her, and that his love would be the ſame to the laſt; that ſhe ſhould command the Prince in his name (if it pleaſed God to advance him to the Throne) to pardon his Enemies, *&c.* withal, he commanded her and her ſecond Brother (the Duke of *York* who ſometime before had made his eſcape from the Parliament) to be ſubject to the Prince and obey their Mother: he bid her alſo read Biſhop *Andrews* Sermons, *Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and Biſhop *Laud's* Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground her againſt Popery.

Then he ſaid to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, *Mark, Child, what I ſay; they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a King: but mark what I ſay, You muſt not be King ſo long as your Brother* Charles *and* James *do live; for they will cut off your Brothers heads (when they can catch them) and cut thy head off too at laſt: and therefore I charge you do not be made a King by them.* To which the Child (looking wiſhfully upon the *King*) anſwered, *I will be torn in pieces firſt.*

The K. is led to execution.

Now was the fatal day when the King, fortified againſt death by Innocence and Piety, came out of

St.

St. *James*'s houſe, (now the *Royal* Priſon) and walked afoot through the Park, with a chearful countenance, as if he had been going a hunting. The Souldiers and guard of Partiſans marching ſlowly, he bid them go faſter, ſaying, *That he now went before them to ſtrive for an heavenly Crown, with leſs ſollicitude than he had often encouraged his Souldiers to fight for an earthly Diadem.*

Being brought into the Banquetting-houſe, he ſpent an hour in prayer, that having recommended his Soul to *God*, he might have ſome leiſure-time before death to be ſpent amongſt the Souldiers. As he went out from thence upon the Scaffold that was covered with diſmal black, the firſt Objects that preſent themſelves to his view, are Executioners in Vizard-maſques, a Block and an Ax; which yet do not ſo damp his Royal Courage, but that he ſhew'd his care for the *living* to be far greater than his apprehenſions of dying: for looking round upon the *People*, who by numerous Guards of Horſe were kept at a great diſtance, and perceiving that he could not be heard by them, he waved (as it is probable) the diſcourſe that he intended to deliver to the *Multitude*, and addreſſed himſelf to *Colonel Tomlinſon*, and the other Inſtruments of the *Regicide*, in theſe following words.

He ſpeaks to Col. Tomlinſon, *and the other Inſtruments of the Regicide.*

I Shall be very little heard of any body elſe; I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word to you here. Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make ſome men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt as well as to the Puniſhment: But I think it is my duty to God firſt, and then to my Country, to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin

His Maj. had not ſpoken, but that otherwiſe he might have been thought to ſubmit to the guilt.

gin firſt with my Innocency; *and in troath, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this: for all the world knows that I did never begin a* War *with the* two Houſes of Parliament; *and I call* God to witneſs, *unto whom I muſt ſhortly give an account, that I did never intend to incroach upon their* Priviledges: *They began upon me; it is the* Militia *they began upon: They confeſſed the* Militia *was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me. And to be ſhort, if any body will look to the dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declaration, he will ſee clearly that they began thoſe unhappy* Troubles, *not I. So as for the guilt of thoſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope that God will clear me on't. I will not, (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the* two Houſes of Parliament, *there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt; but I believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me, have been the chief cauſe of all this Bloudſhed: So that as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too. Yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay, that Gods Judgments are juſt upon me; many times he doth pay injuſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary: I will ſay this,* That unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffered to take effect, is puniſhed by an unjuſt Sentence upon me: *So far I have ſaid, to ſhew you,* That I am an in-

He did not begin the War.

But the two Houſes.

His Majeſty lays not the the guilt upon the two Houſes, Ill Inſtruments the cauſe of it.

One unjuſt ſentence puniſhed with another.

innocent man. *Now to ſhew you* that I am a good Chriſtian, *I hope there is a good man here* (pointing to the Biſhop of *London*) *that will bear me witneſs, that I have forgiven all the world, and even thoſe in particular that have been the chief Cauſers of my death: who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know; I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity muſt go further; I wiſh they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great ſin in that particular: I pray God, with St.* Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge; *and withal, that they may take the way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for my charity commands me not onely to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the laſt gaſp, the Peace of the Kingdom. So* (*Sirs*) *I do wiſh with all my Soul,* (*I ſee there are ſome here that will carry it further*) *that they endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.* (*Sirs*) *I muſt ſhew you, both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way. Firſt, you are out of the way; for certainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conqueſt: certainly this is an ill way; for Conqueſt, in my Opinion, is never juſt, except there be a juſt and good cauſe, either for matter of Wrong, or a juſt Title; and then if you go beyond the firſt Quarrel that ye have, that makes it unjuſt at the end, that was juſt at firſt: for if there be onely matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery; as a private Souldier ſaid to* Alexander, That he was a great Robber, himſelf

His Majeſty forgives all the world, even the Cauſers of his death.

Prays that they may take the right way to Peace.

Conqueſt an ill way, ſeldom juſt.

was

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Now was the fatal day when the King, fortified againſt death by Innocence and Piety, came out of

St.

St. *James's* houſe, (now the *Royal* Priſon) and walked afoot through the Park, with a chearful countenance, as if he had been going a hunting. The Souldiers and guard of Partiſans marching ſlowly, he bid them go faſter, ſaying, *That he now went before them to ſtrive for an heavenly Crown, with leſs ſollicitude than he had often encouraged his Souldiers to fight for an earthly Diadem.*

Being brought into the Banquetting-houſe, he ſpent an hour in prayer, that having recommended his Soul to *God*, he might have ſome leiſure-time before death to be ſpent amongſt the Souldiers. As he went out from thence upon the Scaffold that was covered with diſmal black, the firſt Objects that preſent themſelves to his view, are Executioners in Vizard-maſques, a Block and an Ax; which yet do not ſo damp his Royal Courage, but that he ſhew'd his care for the *living* to be far greater than his apprehenſions of dying: for looking round upon the *People*, who by numerous Guards of Horſe were kept at a great diſtance, and perceiving that he could not be heard by them, he waved (as it is probable) the diſcourſe that he intended to deliver to the *Multitude*, and addreſſed himſelf to *Colonel Tomlinſon*, and the other Inſtruments of the *Regicide*, in theſe following words.

He ſpeaks to Col. Tomlinſon, *and the other Inſtruments of the Regicide.*

I Shall be very little heard of any body elſe; I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word to you here. Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make ſome men think that I did ſubmit to the Guilt as well as to the Puniſhment: But I think it is my duty to God firſt, and then to my Country, to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin

His Maj. had not ſpoken, but that otherwiſe he might have been thought to ſubmit to the guilt.

gin firſt with my Innocency; *and in troath, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this: for all the world knows that I did neuer begin a* War *with the* two Houſes of Parliament; *and I call* God *to witneſs, unto whom I muſt ſhortly give an account, that I did never intend to incroach upon their* Priviledges: *They began upon me; it is the* Militia *they began upon: They confeſſed the* Militia *was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me. And to be ſhort, if any body will look to the dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declaration, he will ſee clearly that they began thoſe unhappy* Troubles, *not I. So as for the guilt of thoſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope that God will clear me on't. I will not, (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the* two Houſes of Parliament, *there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt; but I believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me, have been the chief cauſe of all this Bloudſhed: So that as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too. Yet for all this, God forbid that I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay, that Gods Judgments are juſt upon me; many times he doth pay injuſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary: I will ſay this,* That unjuſt Sentence that I ſuffered to take effect, is puniſhed by an unjuſt Sentence upon me: *So far I have ſaid, to ſhew you,* That I am an in-

He did not begin the War.

But the two Houſes.

His Majeſty lays not the the guilt upon the two Houſes, Ill Inſtruments the cauſe of it.

One unjuſt ſentence puniſhed with another.

innocent man. *Now to ſhew you* that I am a good Chriſtian, *I hope there is a good man here* (pointing to the Biſhop of *London*) *that will bear me witneſs, that I have forgiven all the world, and even thoſe in particular that have been the chief Cauſers of my death: who they are, God knows, I do not deſire to know; I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my Charity muſt go further; I wiſh they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great ſin in that particular: I pray God, with St.* Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge; *and withal, that they may take the way to the Peace of the Kingdom; for my charity commands me not onely to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the laſt gaſp, the Peace of the Kingdom. So* (Sirs) *I do wiſh with all my Soul,* (*I ſee there are ſome here that will carry it further*) *that they endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom.* (Sirs) *I muſt ſhew you, both how you are out of the way, and put you in a way. Firſt, you are out of the way; for certainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conqueſt: certainly this is an ill way; for Conqueſt, in my Opinion, is never juſt, except there be a juſt and good cauſe, either for matter of Wrong, or a juſt Title; and then if you go beyond the firſt Quarrel that ye have, that makes it unjuſt at the end, that was juſt at firſt: for if there be onely matter of Conqueſt, then it is a great Robbery; as a private Souldier ſaid to* Alexander, That he was a great Robber, himſelf

His Majeſty forgives all the world, even the Cauſers of his death.

Prays that they may take the right way to Peace.

Conqueſt an ill way, ſeldom juſt.

was

was but a petty Robber: *And ſo, Sirs, for the way you are in, I think you are much out of the way. Now, Sirs, to put you into the way; believe it, you ſhall never go right, nor God will never proſper you, until you give God his due, the* King *his due, (that is my Succeſſour) and the* People *their due; I am as much for them as any of you. You muſt give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church, according to the Scripture, (which is now out of order) and to ſet you in a way particularly, now I cannot; but onely this: A National Synod freely called, freely debating among themſelves, muſt ſettle this, when every Opinion is freely heard. For the* King, *indeed, I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly inſtruct you for that; therefore, becauſe it concerns mine own particular, I onely give you a touch of it. For the* People, *truly I deſire their liberty and freedom as much as any body whomſoever: But I muſt tell you, that their liberty and freedom conſiſts in having government under thoſe Laws, by which their lives and theirs may be moſt their own; it is not in having a ſhare in the government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Soveraign are clean different things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the People into that liberty, as I ſay, certainly they will never enjoy themſelves.*

To give God his due, the K. his due, and the People their dut, is the right way. Give God his due in ſetling his Church.

As to the K. it concerning himſelf, his Majeſty waves it.

Peoples liberty conſiſts in having government, not in ſharing it.

Sirs, it was for this that now I am come hither: for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed ac-

cor-

cording to the power of the Sword, I need not have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the MARTYR *of the People. In troth, Sirs, I ſhall not hold you any longer; I will onely ſay this to you, That I could have deſired ſome little time longer, becauſe I would have put this, what I have ſaid, a little better digeſted than I have done; and therefore I hope you will excuſe me. I have delivered my Conſcience: I pray God you take thoſe courſes that are beſt for the good of the Kingdoms and your own ſalvation.*

His Majeſty the Martyr of the People.

Being thus about to conclude his moſt innocent and meek Speech, the Biſhop of *London* gave him a hint, That if his Majeſty thought fit, he would ſay ſomewhat as to his Religion; not that any man living ſuſpected that, of which he had given ſo clear proofs during the whole courſe of his life, but that he might, according to cuſtom, ſatisfie the People.

To which the King replied, *I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for I had almoſt forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my Conſcience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the World; and therefore I declare before you all, That I die a Chriſtian, according to the Profeſſion of the Church of* England, *as I found it left me by my Father, and that honeſt man I think will witneſs it.*

He profeſſes he dies a Chriſtian of the Church of England.

Then turning to the *Officers*, he ſaid, *Sirs, excuſe me for this ſame; I have a good Cauſe, and I have a gracious God, I will ſay no more.*

But

But a little after, *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.*

He is beheaded

Afterwards kneeling down by the Block, as at a Desk, and having said a short Prayer, he most humbly resigned his sacred head to his Maker to be struck off by a masked Executioner; which was quickly done at one blow. So fell *CHARLES*; and so with him expired the Honour and Soul of *Great Britain.*

Barbarous Cruelty against him dead. Against his body.

Nor are they satisfied to have exercised their Rage and Cruelty against him, whilst he was alive: they dishonour his martyred Body; wash their hands and dip their sticks in his Bloud; set to sale the Block cut into pieces, and the Sand underneath it moistened with *Royal* Bloud; and make money also of his Hair. All which were by the Spectators bought up upon different motives: some as *dear Pledges* and *Relicks* of a *Prince* whom they adored; others, that they might never want a Cure for the Kings Evil, a Prerogative which our Kings are believed to enjoy; but many also, that they might have and shew in triumph the Spoils of their Enemy. *Cromwel*, that he might to the full glut his traiterous eyes with that Spectacle, having opened the Coffin wherein the *Body* was carried from the Scaffold into the Palace, curiously viewed it, and *with his fingers severed the head from the shouldiers*, as we have been informed by Eye-witnesses.

Afterwards they give the Body to be embowelled by a rascally Quack-Physician, and some Surgeons of the Army, most inveterate Enemies to the very name of a *King*, (his Majesties own Servants being removed) who had orders *carefully to enquire* (which was the same to them as if they had been com-

commanded positively to affirm) *whether he had not the Venereal Distemper, or any signs of Frigidity*; with a designe to take an occasion from thence of branding either himself or Posterity with Infamy. But that Villany was crushed in the Egg by the presence of an honest Physician, who getting to be admitted to the Dissection, overawed them by his reverence and authority: the same person having also reputed that by the healthfulness and vigour of his Constitution, he might have outlived most men; so that all who consider the humourous temper both of his body and mind, are fully now satisfied of it.

Against his soul.

Nay, that they might strain their Malice to the highest pitch of Cruelty, they make no less scruple to murder the *Soul* of the *King*, and as easily damn him to the flames of Hell, as they are wont to canonize all their own for *Saints*.

Against his fame and memory to posterity.

They make it their business also to blacken his *Memory* amongst men; they cause his Statue that stood over the Porch of St. *Paul*'s Church, and another that was placed amongst the Statues of his Predecessors in the *Royal Exchange* of *London*, to be thrown down, putting these words into the empty Niche, * *Exit Tyrannus regum ultimus*; most false both in the preface and crime. They employ the mercenary Pen of the Son of a certain *Sarjeant* one *Milton*, from a musty Pedant, vampt into a new Secretary, whose Talent lying in Satyrs and Libels, and his Tongue being dipt in the blackest and basest venome, might forge an Εικονοκλάστης or *Image-breaking*; and by his livid and malicious Wit, publish a Defence of the *Kings Murder* against *Salmasius*.

* *The Tyrant the last of Kings is gone.*

They carry away all the Royal *Writings that they might not be publish'd*

They rob the Bishop of *London*, who was long kept a Prisoner, of all the Papers which his Majesty had delivered unto him, and ransaking all Clothes, Trunks,

Trunks, and Boxes, they search into every corner, that they might hinder any Paper written with the Royal hand, from coming into the publick; by which indeed they deprived mankind of many rare Monuments of Prudence and Piety.

Nevertheless, a golden book of the Kings Meditations *saw the light.*

Nevertheless, by the extraordinary providence of *Almighty God*, to their eternal shame and confusion, and the everlasting praise of the boundless and Royal Virtue of the *King*, a Book of *MEDITATIONS* or *SOLLILOQUIES*, saw the light, a posthumous work of which, whosoever impartially considers the weight of matter, the quaintness of stile, the strength of Reasons, and the ardour of Piety, must, in spight of Envy, acknowledge that amongst Writers he deserved the Kingdom, and that those ill minds that wrested from him the Civil Government, must render him the dominion of *Letters*.

The extraordinary grief of the people.

No King, not onely of *Britain* alone, but that ever sate upon the Throne, left the World more bewailed and lamented. For the news of his death being spread over *England*, made women miscarry, cast both *men* and *women* into Fits, Convulsions, and Melancholy; nay, some were so surprized, that they outlived not the suddenness of the Consternation: The *Pulpits* in all places uttered nothing but Sighs and Groans: The same persons with useless grief bewailing him now he was gone, who because of difference of Opinion concerning *Church-government*, had no great kindness for him whilst he was alive. The very *little Children* (who seldom mind such things) bursting out into Tears, could hardly be comforted. Men of all sorts, and almost of all *Sects*, enlarged in his praises, comparing him to *Job*, *David*, and *Solomon*, for *Patience*, *Piety*, and *Wisdom*. Nor can I my self forbear in this place to hoist sail, and with all the skill I have, launch out into the Ocean of his Virtues; though the nature of an Abridgement

bridgment I am now about, does lay an embargo upon my liberty. I ſhall therefore by a few, and thoſe clouded beams, give you what ſight I can of that *Sun*.

He was indeed a *Prince* to be reckoned amongſt the beſt of all paſt Ages, whoſe great endowments of mind, and greater Virtues, rendered him in the opinion of all, even his greateſt Enemies, *Worthy of Government, if he had not governed*: who by all mens confeſſion, attained to that height of perfection, that he was the ſame in all places, and at all times; that the courſe of his Virtues was even and ſteddy, his countenance and looks the ſame in the moſt different kinds of fortune that he had tried; as if from the Torrid he had removed into the Frigid Zone, without the leaſt alteration in his temper. Who pleaſed even the unwilling, and as by a kind of Charm, mitigated the hatred of many, won his enemies to Friendſhip, and turned Railings into Praiſes. Who ſo excelled in Prudence and all Heroick Virtues, that through Calumnies and Reproaches he ſhone out with greater luſtre. *The Character of the late King.*

His Enemies feigned him to be a man of weak Judgment, but found him to be a match, if not ſuperiour, to the choiceſt *Politicians* and *Divines*: They reviled him as cowardly and fickle, without faith, and of feminine inconſtancy; but in Battels they felt him to be valiant, perceived him undaunted in Threats, Dangers, and Diſgraces, and unſhaken in Priſon and at Death. They ſlandered him as a *Papiſt*, but ſaw him in his Writings to be a Champion for the *Reformed Apoſtolical Religion*; defending it not onely by his Pen, but with his Blood. They who maligned him as cruel and bloud-thirſty, advanced to that licentiouſneſs of calumniating, onely through the clemency of their *King*, to which the *Rebels* promiſed themſelves a

too easie retreat, until by the favour of fortune, being transported beyond the bonds of pardon, they chuse rather to deny mercy to a *Prince* of so much clemency, than to ask it of him when he was disarmed.

If any thing could be objected to him, it was so far from being a fault in so rare a Prince, that it was the height of an unseasonable Virtue, inconsistent with so vitious and corrupt an Age; that is, too much *Lenity* to the *cruel*, *Candour* to the disingenuous and crafty, a *strict Justice and Certitude*, which is not commonly the Virtue of *Kings*, a *Modesty* that distrusted his own Abilities, and a Mind so far from pride, that he was more apt to comply with the worse Counsels of others, than to stick to the best of his own; as if he had indeed believed the Calumnies of his Enemies to be true.

He was a great Example of Living, but a greater of Dying;
Whom like slighted and unrewarded Virtue,
We hate whilst it's in being, and anxiously hustle for when it is gone.

The Rebels *exercist Arbitrary Dominion over the Lives and Estates of others.*

The great *Defender* of the Laws being now cut off, and the Government unhinged, the new *Usurpers* thought it time to turn all topsie-turvy, and to make Laws according to their own pleasure. They order *CHARLES* the Second, by the name of *CHARLES STEUART*, and the Duke of *York*, wheresoever they could be found, to be put to death. Out comes presently an Ordinance, under pain of High-Treason, *That no man should presume to declare* CHARLES STEUART, *commonly called Prince of* Wales, *King*: And as if this had been but a small matter, *That no man should pray for* CHARLES *the Second, under the name of Prince of* Wales,

They forbid any man to call Charles *the II. King, or to pray for him, his Brother, or any of the Royal Family.*

Wales, *King of* Scotland, *or eldest Son of the King, or for the Duke of* York, *or any of the Royal Family, under pain of Sequestration.*

Monarchy and the *House of Lords* being both abolished, the first under pretext of *change, uselesness and danger*, and the other both of *uselesness* and *danger*; they make an Ordinance for changing the most ancient Government of *England* into a *Democraty* or Popular Commonwealth: and because the *Mayor* of *London* refused to publish the Ordinance, they turn him out of his Office, fine him in two thousand pounds, and commit him to the *Tower*; notwithstanding his alleadging, *That such an act was to be performed by the Sheriffs, and not the Mayor of* London, *and that being bound by so many Oaths, he could not in conscience do it.* A dull blockhead, one of the *Kings Judges*, was forthwith put into his place, and that others upon account of conscience, might not boggle at any of their commands, they abolish the Oath which all men upon their entry into publick place, were obliged to take to the *Kings Majesty.* They purge the *Common Council* of the *City*, which was wont to consist of the richer and graver Citizens, and turn out many *Aldermen*; making this their colour for it, that the year before (though at the desire of the major part of the *Parliament*) *They had signed the Petition for a personal Conference with the King*; and filled their places with the abject *Riff-raff* of the Rabble, many of them very young, and most of them broken fellows.

The Monarch being cut off, they presently murder Monarchy; *they also abrogate the House of Lords.*

Turns out the Lord Mayor of London.

They alter the Common Council of the City also.

They also turn out the *Recorder*, *Town-Clerk*, and other *Officers of the City*, who had refused to attend the *Mayor* at the publishing of the Ordinance for abolishing of Monarchy; other factious Villains of their own Gang, being preferred to their places; who leading the other Citizens by the noses, the City of *London* in a trice became obedient to the

And repeal all Laws againſt Hereſies and Schiſms.

Orders of the *Mock-Parliament*. With one ſingle Vote they repeal all the ancient Laws made againſt *Sects* and *Schiſms*. They deprive the *Miniſters* of the promiſed Revenues, I mean, of *Deans and Chapters* Lands: They alſo make profeſſion of eaſing tender Conſciences from the burthen of *Tythes*, aſſigning ſome thouſands a year out of the *Kings* Revenue, for Stipends and Salaries for the Preachers; that ſo they might be at the beck of the Republicans, and be at length by *Office* conſtrained with mutual Aſſiſtance and Pay to conſpire againſt *Monarchy*. Nay, it was debated, whether they ſhould not for ſome time ſhut the Church-doors, and reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of *Presbyterians*: but milder Councils prevailing, ſome having been impriſoned, & others threatned with death, all are commanded upon pain of Sequeſtration to refrain from Invectives, and to comply with their *Rulers* in keeping *Faſts* and *Thanksgiving-days*, and whatever elſe concerned the affairs of the *Church*. They break down the *Kings Arms* and Statues that were ſet up in publick places, and put up their own inſtead of them. They coyn new money with the impreſſion of a *Croſs* and *Harp*, as the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*. In a word, as by Law, and in full right, they invade and appropriate to themſelves all the *Regalia*, which as by way of Sequeſtration they had before uſurped.

They engage the Preachers to themſelves by the Kings Rents.

Puniſh the Gain-ſayers.

Sparing no body.

From henceforward, without any regard to Juſtice and Honeſty, they ſpare neither Sex nor any Order of men. The *Kings* Children who remained in *England*, to wit, the Lady *Elizabeth* and *Henry Duke of Glouceſter*, Princes of ſingular accompliſhments of Nature, are many ways baſely uſed by them. Amongſt the *Regicides* it was moved oftener than once, whether they had not better put *her* out Apprentice to a Trade, that ſhe might get her

her living, than to breed her up in a lazy life at the charge of the Publick. From the gentle tuition of the *Earl of N.* ſhe is turned over to the ſeverer diſcipline of another, with orders, that when there was no occaſion for it, ſhe ſhould not be treated as the Daughter of a *King*: Afterward ſhe was confined to *Carisborough*-Caſtle in the *Iſle of Wight*, under the cuſtody of one *Mildmay*, an inſpired fool, but implacable enemy to the Royal Family; that ſhe poor Lady, thus put in mind of her Fathers Impriſonment and Murder, being already conſumptive, might the ſooner be brought to her end. And indeed, when through the irkſomneſs of Priſon, Grief, and Sickneſs, ſhe viſibly and daily decayed and pined away, the inhumane Traytors deny her the aſſiſtance of a Phyſician; nay, the Phyſician whoſe preſence ſhe earneſtly deſired, they ſo frighten from his duty, that he durſt not wait upon her. She being dead, they ſend the *Duke of Glouceſter* into baniſhment, having allowed him a ſmall piece of money (that I may not omit any act of their humanity) to carry him over into *Flanders*.

They baſely treat the *Counteſs of Carliſle*, by an uſage unworthy of her Sex and Quality, as being one who of too much a friend before, was now become an Enemy, and commit her to the *Tower of London*. *Duke Hamilton and the Earl of Holland*, who now too lately repented their having been the firſt of the *Lords* and chief of the *Factious*, who for their own ſafety, had too much ſerved the times againſt the *King*, and of the Royal Party, the heroick *Lord Capel*, a prime Champion both for his King and Country, are by the ſame *Preſident Bradſhaw*, who dyed red with *Royal* bloud, knew not what it was to ſpare the bloud of other men, in the ſame *Court of Juſtice* ſentenced to loſe their heads. Whom the *Rebels* thought fit they baniſhed, and

seized all Estates and Inheritances, how large soever, at their own discretion. There was a debate amongst them about making a Law, that whosoever was by them suspected to be an ill willer to the *Commonwealth*, or an enemy to the Army, might be brought to a tryal before a *Council of War*, and sentenced by them as they thought fit.

Nay, they order the stately Fabricks of the *Royal Houses and Palaces*, to be thrown down, that Kings for the future might not have a house of their own to cover their heads under; *God* any stately Temples wherein he might be worshipped, or the *Kingdom* any publick Structures to shew its magnificence. St. *Paul's Church* in *London*, that of *Salisbury*, and the Kings house of *Hampton-Court*, Fabricks that may compare for stateliness with the best of *Europe*, with much ado escaped the fury of their desolating hands.

The Government committed to the Council of forty men.

A Council of forty persons is erected, which by a gentle name to the common people, they call the *Keepers of the Liberties*, who altogether, or at least seven of the number, had the full administration of the *Commonwealth*. Amongst these were three or four contemptible *Lords*, Slaves to the *Republican Faction* admitted, of whom *Bradshaw* was made Head, with the Title of *Lord President*, and a yearly Salary of two thousand pounds, as the price of *Regicide*.

A subscription is enjoyned.

Moreover, a Writing is commanded to be taken by all, whereby they were bound to approve whatsoever the Rebels had acted against the *King* and *Kingdom*. Yet when many had refused to take it, they were nevertheless admitted upon this condition, *That with their lives and fortunes, they should maintain and defend for the future, the State and Meek-Parliament in the same condition they were.* Henceforward none of the secluded-Members, nor of those

those who had withdrawn, were admitted into the *House*, unless they approved underhand the late Villanies. Nevertheless, they command *all to appear against a certain day, or otherways to be excluded for ever, and others chosen in their places.* So that some for fear of Sequestration, and I know not what hurt and damage they were apprehensive of, others out of hopes of profit to be got in publick changes, by a base temporizing, strike in with the *Republican Usurpers*, and are admitted into a share of the labour and danger, but not of the Government.

About the same time the *secluded Members* meet in *Lincolns-Inne* to consult together, and take the advice of *S.* a *Lawyer*, what was fittest to be done in the present state of affairs. But he readily gave his opinion, that the late changes were made against the tenor of the *Laws*, the Customs and Interest of the *Country*, and the Dictates of *right Reason*; and that no commerce could be kept with the Usurpers, without the guilt and horrid crime of *Treason*: and indeed he frightened many of the *Members* from coming to the *House*, who could never afterward be brought to joyn in council with the *Regicides*. Nevertheless, within a few days he himself became a leading-man in the *Rebel-Parliament*, and the Council of the *Keepers of the Liberties*, and submitted to their Authority: nay, and did not reject the place of *Lord Chief Justice* of the *Common Pleas*, conferred upon him by the same men, though the *King* before the Troubles had honoured him with the title of his *Attorney-General*.

S. inveighs bitterly against the Regicides.

By and by falls off to the same Party.

These things are carried on under pretext of speedy setling the State; but in reality with design to secure the Government to themselves: to whom all the rest almost being cow'd into a submission, the *Popular Republicans* onely resist. These demand

They labour to establish an Oligarchy. The Democraticks oppose it.

that the *Representative* so often desired and so often promised, might be established by a free and equal election of the people, the Rump of the *Mock-Parliament* being dismissed. In Writings and Conferences they inveigh against the arbitrary dominion of the *Usurpers*, the *High Court of Justice*, *Council of State*, or *of the Keepers of the Liberties, as onely the softer names of a harder Tyranny*; *nay, they cry out against the Kings murder* as *unjust*, and *committed against all Law and just Authority*; *that the People had changed but not shaken off the Yoke*; *that they had rather live ten years under the government of the worst of Kings, than one year under their dominion*; *that the loins of King* Charles *were lighter than their little finger*. So great force has truth, as that it draws such Expressions even from the unwilling. At length they flie to Arms, and the private Souldiers, especially the Troopers, who formerly consented with them in most things, being every where stirred up, they at length begin to gather together in form of an Army.

Inveigh,

Resist with Arms.

But the *Usurpers* who were never wanting to occasion, obviate the beginnings; and under pretext *of composing Differences amongst honest men, who minded the same things, though they mutually entertained bad opinions one of another*, having corrupted and gained some of them to their Party, they suddenly fall upon the rest and defeat them, disarm the Prisoners, and having caused the chief Authors of the Stirs to be shot, and others to be punished more mildly, they terrifie all the rest from disturbing for the future the Rulers, either with cutting Truths, or sharper Arms.

They are defeated by the Usurpers.

The *Usurpers* being fixed in the Saddle, publish a Proclamation, forbidding all men *to accuse them of Tyranny, to object any thing against them by word or in writing, or to attempt any alteration, under pain of*

They publish a Proclamation, that no man should accuse them of Tyranny.

High-

High-Treason. They appoint a solemn Thanksgiving-day to render publick thanks to God for their prosperous success against the *Democraticks*; that so by mocking of God, they might the more easily make the silly people rejoyce in their Calamities. And the same day they are sumptuously feasted by the *Mayor and Aldermen of London*, not without the Reproaches and Curses of almost all the Spectators; where amidst the tears and miseries of a great many that perished by a famine that then raged, they junket it deliciously. *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* are complemented with splendid Presents of Gold and Silver. And that the wretched Citizens might not seem to have lost all their labour in feeding these Ravens, they bestow upon them the *Kings new Park*, under colour of making them some recompence for their late Magnificence; but in reality, that the distracted men being allured by the sweetness of that morsel, might be won over to their Party, and wish well to the new Government.

Appoint a Thanksgiving.

Are feasted by the City.

Which they recompence.

Henceforward there is nothing to them sacred or holy. They either distribute amongst themselves, or sell at easie rates the *Kings* Houshold-furniture, Lands and Houses, the Revenues and Lands of the *Church*, which belonged to the *Deans* and *Chapters*, and which remained intire till now by the Votes of both Houses of *Parliament*, for the use of the new Clergy, or *Presbyterian Ministry*: That by these arts they might both glut their own *Avarice*, and by involving many in the same guilt with themselves, make them firmer to their Faction.

They sell the Kings Houses, Houshold-furniture, &c.

Nor being yet satiated by the *Crown* and *Church*-lands, and the Estates of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, who disagreeing from them, made up the far greater part of the Kingdom, which they had seized long ago by way of Sequestration; nor by the Goods and Chattels of those aforementioned whom

whom they had plundered, and the vast sums of money which those that had been for the King daily paid for redeeming their Estates, and purchasing favour; they daily raise an incredible quantity of money from the *Customs* and the *Excise*, (a Tax which before would not have been endured in *England*.) Not to mention the secret Veins of Wealth, I mean Bribes and Gifts, which those that stood for *Places* or had business and *Law-suits*, slipt privately into their pockets. Nay, they were not ashamed to flea the so often fleeced people by a most heavy Imposition of ninety thousand pounds a month to pay the idle Souldiers.

They burden the people with most heavy Taxts.

Invade Ireland.

However) the spoils and government of one Kingdom was not enough to satisfie them; they invade the *Irish* also that were ready to submit to the King, (whom whilst they were Rebels, most part of them praised, yet at least did hostilely assault them,) promising themselves certain victory over them; and hoping that *Ireland* being subdued, they might easily reduce *Scotland* and *France*, as being divided at home; and many of them had the confidence openly to glory, that they would break that Yoke wherewith the *Kings* of the Earth oppress the *People*. Nor truly could any man have told where the fierceness of this Scourge would have ended, and where that Flood would have spent it self, unless the *divine Majesty*, which hath hollowed a channel for the Sea, set bounds and limits to it, and said, *Hither shalt thou come, and no further*, had not opposed the over-swelling pride of these Waters, and commanded his *Angel* to sound the Retreat.

And threatned the whole world.

A

A Chronological INDEX FOR This First Part.

Old Stile.

MDCXXV. 1625.

KIng James *being dead,* CHARLES *the First* March 27.
succeeds King of Great Britain.

He marries Henrietta Maria *Sister to* Louis XIII. *King* June 14.
of France.

MDCXXV, VI, VII, VIII. 1625, 26,

The King calls three Parliaments, and little or nothing 27, 28.
done, as often dissolves them.

MDCXXX. 1630.

Prince CHARLES *is born.* May 29.

MDCXXXIII. 1633.

James Duke of York *is born.* October 14.

MDCXXXVII. 1637.

Prin, Burton, Bastwick, having lost their ears, are put June.
in prison.

The

July 23. *The* Scots *grow rebellious.*

1639. MDCXXXIX.

The King meets the Scots *intending to invade* England; *but having made a Pacification, disbands his Army.*

1640. MDCXL.

April 13. *The Stirs of the* Scots *occasioned the Kings calling of*
May 5. *a Parliament at* Westminster; *which was dissolved without any success.*

Aug. *So the* Scots *invade* England, *and take* Newcastle: *The* King *marches against them; but having made a Truce, calls a* Parliament *at* Westminster.

November 3. *The Parliament meets, and under pretext of Reformation, put all into Confusion.*

November. Thomas Wentworth *Earl of* Strafford, *Deputy of*
December. Ireland, *and* William Laud *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *are accused.*

1641. MDCXLI.

May 12. *The Deputy of* Ireland *condemned by a Law made for the purpose, is beheaded.*

May 10. *The King also by Act of Parliament grants,* That the Parliament shall not be dissolved without the consent of both Houses.

May 2. William of Nassaw *Son to* Frederick *Prince of* Orange, *is married to* Mary *Daughter to K.* Charles.

August. *The* Scots *full of money return into their own Country: The King follows them into* Scotland.

October 23. *The* Irish *conspire against the* English, *and cruelly fall upon them.*

Novemb. 25. *The* King *returns to* London *from* Scotland.

December 1. *A* Remonstrance *of the* Lower House *offered to the King.*

1642. MDCXLI, MDCXLII.

January 3. *The* King *accuses five* Commoners, *and one* Lord *of High-Treason.*

The

The King *goes into* the House of Commons. January 4.

The King *withdraws from* London. January 10.

Sends a Pacificatory Letter to the Parliament. January 20.

Sends the Queen into Holland *with her Daughter.* February 23.

He himself goes towards York. February 28.

Sir John Hotham *shuts the Gates of* Hull *against the King.* April 23.

Unjust Propositions of Peace are made by the Parliament *to the* King. June 2.

The Parliament *raising an Army, the* King *at length sets up his Standard at* Nottingham. August 22.

Both Armies engage at Edge-hill, *and both challenge the Victory.* October 23.

MDCXLIII. 1643.

A Treaty of Peace appointed at Oxford *comes to nothing.* Feb. March, April,

The Earl of Newcastle *gets the better of* Fairfax, *Commander of the Rebels in the North.* July 13.

In the West, Waller *a Commander of the Rebels, is routed by the Kings Party.* June 30.

Prince Rupert *taketh* Bristol. July 27.

Maurice *his Brother takes* Exeter. September 4.

In the mean time the King *himself besieges* Gloucester. August 10.

Essex, *General of the Rebels, relieves* Gloucester. September.

The King meets Essex *upon his return, and fights him at* Nubury, Septemb. 20.

The English *Rebels put to a streight, call in the* Scots, *and take the* Covenant. Jun. Sept. 25.

The King therefore makes a Truce with the Irish *for a year.* Septemb. 15.

MDCXLIII, IV. 1644.

James *Marquess of* Hamilton *is committed to prison.* January 3.

The Scots *again enter* England. January 16.

The King *holds a Parliament at* Oxford. January 22.

The Earl of Montrose *is sent Commissioner into* Scotland. May.

Essex

Eſſex *and* Waller, *Generals of the Rebels, march towards* Oxford.

June 29. *The* King *defeats* Waller *at* Cropredian-*bridge.*
Then purſues Eſſex *into the Weſt.*

July. *The* Scots *in the mean time joyned with the* Engliſh, *defeat the Cavaliers at* Marſton-moore.
And then take York *by ſurrender.*

Septemb. 1, 2. *In the* Weſt *the* King *breaks all* Eſſex *his Forces.*

October 27. *Upon his return he is met by* Manchester *at* Newbury, *where they fight a ſecond time.*

Decemb. 23. Alexander Carey *is beheaded.*

1645. MDCXLIV, V.

January 1, 2. Hotham *the Father and Son are beheaded.*

January 10. William Laud *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *is beheaded.*

February 20. Macquire *an Iriſh Lord is hanged.*

February. *The Treaty of Peace at* Uxbridge *comes to nothing.*

June 14. Fairfax *General of the Parliament Forces, defeats the* King *at* Naſeby.
Henceforward all by degrees fell into the hands of the Parliament.

1646. MDCXLVI.

April 27. *The* King *having in vain tried the* Engliſh, *departing*

May 5. *privately from* Oxford, *commits himſelf into the hands of the* Scots.

June 24. Fairfax *takes* Oxford *by compoſition.*

September. Robert *Earl of* Eſſex *dies.*

1647. MDCXLVI, VII.

January 30. *The* Scots *ſell the* King *to the* Engliſh, *and return fraighted with Money.*

February 16. *The* King *is made cloſe Priſoner in* Holdenby-*Caſtle.*

March. *The Marqueſs of* Ormond, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *delivers up* Dublin *to the* Engliſh.

June 4. *The Army take the* King *out of Priſon.*
And march againſt the Parliament.

The

The Speakers of both Houſes, with fifty other Members, flie to the Camp. July 29.
The Souldiers attend the Members that fled to Weſtminſter. Auguſt 6.
Unjuſt Conditions of Peace are propoſed to the King *at* Hampton-court. September 7.
The King *makes his eſcape to the Iſle of* Wight. Novemb. 11.
From thence writing Pacificatory Letters, they propoſe to him four Demands as preliminary to a Conference. Decemb. 24.
The King *is made cloſe Priſoner.*

MDCXLVII, VIII. 1648,

The Parliament *votes* no more Addreſſes to the King. January 17.
The Counties everywhere ſtir, the Kentiſh, Eſſex-*men, and ſome others, take up Arms.* May. June.
The Duke of Buckingham, Francis *his Brother, and Earl of* Holland, *in vain take up Arms.* July 5:
The Fleet comes over to the Prince of Wales. July.
The Scots *commanded by Duke* Hamilton, *advance into* England.
They are defeated by Cromwel, *and* Hamilton *taken.* Auguſt 17.
Fairfax *takes* Colcheſter *upon ſurrender.* Auguſt 28.
Rainsborough, *a Commander of the Parliament Army, killed at* Duncaſter. October 29.
A Conference appointed with the King *in the Iſle of* Wight. Sept. Octob.
The Marqueſs of Ormond *returns* Lord Lieutenant *into* Ireland. November.
The Remonſtrance of Ireton *is approved in a Council of War.* Novemb. 16.
And is preſented to the Parliament in name of the Army and People of England. Novemb. 20.
The King is carried from the Iſle of Wight *to* Hurſt-Caſtle. Decemb. 1.
Nevertheleſs, the Parliament votes, That the Kings Conceſſions are a ſufficient ground for a Peace. Decemb. 5.
Many Parliament-men are made Priſoners by the Souldiers. Decemb. 6, 7.

MDCXLVIII,

MDCXLVIII, IX.

1649. January 4. *The rest amongst other and unheard things, vote,* That all Power is originally in the People.

January 6. *Then,* That the King himself is to be brought to a tryal.

January 20. *The King therefore is brought to the Bar.*

22, 23, 27. *The King is brought a fourth time, and condemned.*

January 30. CHARLES *the best of Kings, by unparallel'd Villany is beheaded.*

March 9. James Duke of Hamilton, Henry Earl of Holland, *and the generous* Arthur *Lord* Capel, *are beheaded.*

March 17. *Lastly,* Monarchy *it self is abolished by the Regicides.*

May 30. *The Act is proclaimed by the mock-Mayor of* London.

May. *The Democratical Republicans stirring in Arms, are routed.*

June 7. *Solemn Thanksgivings appointed for the Victory, and the Conquerours feasted by the* Londoners.

MDCL.

1650. September 8. *The Lady* Elizabeth, *Daughter of* Charles *the Martyr, dies in her Fathers Prison.*

FINIS.

A ſhort

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

Riſe and Progreſs

OF THE

Late Troubles

IN

ENGLAND:

AND ALSO

Of the KING's Miraculous Eſcape after the Battel at *Worceſter.*

The Second Part.

NOW are the Cruel *Regicides* Maſters of *England*, but of *England* alone. The *Scots* were in ſuſpence, not being, as yet, fully reſolved, whether they ſhould ſettle *Charles the Second* in his Fathers Throne, or, uſurping the Soveraignty, ſhould Govern *Scotland* as a Common-wealth themſelves. *Ireland*, almoſt entirely for the *King*, was ready utterly to ſhake off the Yoke

The ſtate of Affairs after the Regicide, in England, Scotland, Ireland,

And the Islands belonging to England.

of the *Mock Parliament*. The Islands belonging to *England*, not only the adjacent, as *Jersey*, *Man*, and *Silly*, but the more remote also in *America*, to wit, *Bermudos*, the *Caribbe* Islands, *Virginia*, and *New-England*, upon the Continent, which had been heretofore planted with *English* Colonies, refuse to obey the Usurpers.

The Regicides *resolving the worst against* Ireland,

Ireland was to be the first Seat of War, shortly to be subdued, whilst the *Scots* were for some time left to themselves. They think it enough at present, to discharge all Trading with the

Forbid Trading with the Islands and Plantations, and for what end.

Islands and Plantations; that no Sugar, Indico, Tobacco, and Cotton should be from thence imported into *England*; nor any Cloaths, and other necessary Provisions for Life, be transported from *England* thither; hoping, by this Fetch, that either being glutted with their own Commodities, or at least pinched through the want of outs, they would be forced to comply: Nor was it doubted, but some time or other, as occasion offered, they would bring them under the Yoke.

Now there was one thing mainly necessary for their future Designs, which (as they were pleased to flatter themselves) was easie to be

They sooth the Dutch.

obtained. The Friendship and Alliance of no Nation, nor People, seemed more commodious and necessary to them, than that of the *Dutch*, both in respect of Neighbourhood and Situation of the Country, and of the Humour and Inclination of the People; nor did they want a pretext of making application to them. For *Strikland*, who, from the beginning of the Troubles, had been Ambassadour, or Envoy with the *States of the United Provinces*, being

Doriſlaus being ſent Ambaſſadour,

kindly treated by them: They thought fit to send over *Doriſlaus*, who had had a chief hand

in

in framing the Kings Indictment, as their Ambaſſadour, to Complement and Thank them in their Name, aſſure them of mutual good Offices, juſtifie to them by Reaſons their Proceedings againſt the *King*, and to colour the Villany by the ſpecious Authority of what Laws he could ſcrape together. Beſides, he had it in Inſtructions (if he found it convenient) to let fall ſome mention of a *Coalition*, or Conjunction, and to offer and preſs it; ſeeing if it could be effected by the Conſent of both Nations, they might laugh at all Deſigns and Attempts of Foreigners, and ſhare betwixt themſelves the Trade of the whole World. *And for what purpoſe:*

But that Negotiation proved unſucceſsful, the *Prince of Orange* being *Stat-holder*, and the People deteſted the Murder of the *King*. Some *Scots* alſo, who, though at a diſtance, had ſpeedy notice of his Arrival, entering his Lodgings before he had had Audience, with many Wounds killed *Doriſtaus*, and made their eſcape before they could be apprehended. Thus the ſhedding of *Royal* Blood is puniſhed by Bloody hands, and by the juſt Judgment of God, whatever may be the Injuſtice of Men, the Crime is brought home to the Author. The *Regicides* often demanded of the *States* Reparation for the Fact, but without any ſucceſs. *But without ſucceſs:* *For the Ambaſſadour is killed by ſome* Scots, *And that with ſafety.*

But the *Democratical* Party in *England*, managing things now ſomewhat more cautiouſly, laid not aſide their diſcontents. *Walwin*, *Prince*, *Lilburn*, *Overton*, and others of that Gang, prefer a Petition to the *Rump Parliament*, wherein they propoſe many good things, which might be uſeful to the Publick, mingling with them Reproaches that were not altogether falſe: For which they were committed *A Petition preſented to the* Regicides *by the Democratical Party:* *They are committed to Priſon for it.*

to Priſon, there to lye by it, till the fierceneſs of their tempers were allayed.

Another from the private Soulaiers,

Nevertheleſs, the private Souldiers of *Ingoldſby*'s Regiment grow Seditious at *Oxford*, under pretence of Petitioning; *That the Rump-Parliament might be diſſolved, a lawful Repreſentative choſen in place of it; that the Laws might be rendered into the vulgar Language; and thoſe that were ſuperfluous aboliſhed; that there might be a Regiſter kept of all Mens Lands and Eſtates; that every one might know what Title they had to what they poſſeſſed; that the Exciſe, and all unlawful Exactions might be aboliſhed.* To which they added over and above, (to increaſe their Party, not that they repented for the Kings Murder,) *that* Charles *the Second might be chief Magiſtrate of the Kingdom.* But the Collonel haſtening thither, and having cauſed ſome few to be ſhot to death, by a timely remedy ſtifled the Tumult in the Birth.

Is ſuppreſt in the Birth.

A third and ſmarter Petition from the Officers of the Army;

Yet from theſe Embers a new Flame broke out; for ſome Officers in *Fairfax* his Army, preſent a ſmarter *Petition* to the ſame purpoſe, though in different words.

Which the Regicides elude,

To the former they add, *That the Tithes being aboliſhed, or converted to another uſe, the Miniſters might have more certain Stipends; that the publick Money might be more ſparingly diſtributed amongſt the Parliament Men; and that the Souldiers ſhould have their pay.* The *Rump-Parliament* durſt not ſlight this; but gives them good words, and being conſcious to themſelves, how often they, by Declarations, had promiſed, and how many times they had been reproached with unfaithfulneſs and breach of Promiſe, they ſet apart a day weekly for deliberating about theſe Propoſals. Firſt, Concerning the *Government*

and

and Repreſentative, where having examined and conſidered the Nature of all *States* and *Republicks*, from that of *Rome*, even to *Raguſa*, they pretend to ſearch out a kind of Government, which might be beſt and moſt ſuitable for *England*. But they could find none that was exquiſit enough, nor that ſeemed adapted to the *Genius* of this People. And ſo, like *Penelope*, weaving and unweaving their Web, they put off the time, until the matter might be forgotten, or ſomething of greater moment intervene.

By doing much to no purpoſe.

I know not whether it be worth the while here to mention the Prohibition made by the *French* at that time, of any Trade with us in Wollen and Linen Manufacture; which drew from the *Regicides* a reciprocal Prohibition, that no Wine, nor Silk Stuffs ſhould from thence be Imported into *England*. It was likewiſe to our advantage, Ordered in *Flanders*, that no Ships nor Goods taken by *Privateers*, ſhould be Condemned or Sold in their Harbours.

Some Trade with us, Prohibited by the French: *With the* French *by us.*

But it is worth taking notice of, that a ſeverer Inquiſition was appointed againſt the *Miniſters* all *England* over, under pretext of Reforming the Church, and introducing the Orthodox Religion; and all were cruelly perſecuted, not only they who ſtuck cloſe to the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the *Church of England*; but even they who wiſhed well to it, or had any Converſation with Men of that Perſwaſion: Ignorant men in the mean time (I ſpeak of the generality) Laicks, Shepherds, and men void of all Learning, being put into the Miniſtry, and ſome of them preferred to two or three Livings at a time, which before they cryed out againſt as abominable.

The Miniſters of the Church of England *are Perſecuted,*

Eſpecially the Welch.

Let *North-Wales* be one Inſtance for all of that Reformation; where, about ſome hundreds, and of theſe not a few Good, Grave and very Learned Divines, were turned out of their Livings: And *Powell*, *Cradock*, *Floid*, and a few other Ignorant Vagabonds that had no certain Habitation, going about in the mean time as Itinerant Evangeliſts, Preaching, or rather Canting from the Pulpit, devoured vaſt Revenues; for the *Commiſſaries* let out for a trifle, the remnant of the Tythes for feeding ſuch Ravens, who were to be accountable to the Rump-Parliament for them at *Neverſmaſs*.

The reſt are cheriſhed.

Moreover, the *Regicides* diſtribute amongſt their own Clergy the *Augmentations*, which were the reſidue of the Tythes, and of *Biſhops* and Deans Rents, that could find no Purchaſers, eſpecially amongſt thoſe who had not an hundred Pounds a year. But that only during pleaſure, and for a time, that they might have them at their beck, and buy the Endeavours, Voices, and Affections of ſo many men; and that they alſo being more vigilant Spies, over ſuſpected Perſons, might pry into their Faults, their Expreſſions and Councils, and inform them of all.

An Expedition into Ireland, *under the Command of* Cromwell.

And now *England* is wholly taken up in preparations for a War in *Ireland*, whither *Cromwell* is ſent as General of the Army. He having Muſtered his Men, haſtens his March to the Coaſt, and filling *Briſtol*, *Cheſter*, and *Milford-Haven* with Souldiers, prepares for his Expedition. The Reader therefore muſt paſs over with me into *Ireland*, that he may be able to give a Judgment of the Inhabitants, and how to diſpoſe them into their ſeveral

veral Ranks, that he may diſcover their various diſpoſitions, and the ends they drove at.

The Iriſh are ranked into ſeveral claſſes.

The Inhabitants of *Ireland* are either *Natives* or *Planters*: And theſe laſt either *Ancient* or *Late*. Thoſe I call *Natives*, who firſt of all Inhabited the Iſland, or were deſcended from them; and are either *Noblemen and Gentlemen*: *Yeomen and Husbandmen*, the *Roman Catholick Clergy and Biſhops*; with other *Free Denizens*. *The Native Iriſh.* The Native *Nobles*, either wholly enjoy their Ancient Lands; or, being ſubdued by the Kings of *England*, and for their Rebellion forfeiting part of their Lands, enjoy what remains, and Rent the reſt of the *Proprietors* for a ſmall matter. Theſe live in the Mountains and Woods, where they imperiouſly domineer over their Tenants and Vaſſals; and know exactly the Bounds and Limits of their Lands; truſting to this, that in future Revolutions, whatſoever they challenge for their own, will again, as by a *Poſtliminous Right*, return to them as to the lawful Proprietors and Maſters.

The Titular *Clergy* and *Biſhops* (for we muſt know that thoſe of the Roman Communion have their own Clergy, Prieſts and Biſhops, ſecretly appointed by the *Pope*, who live only upon Charitable Contributions) privately perform the Duties of Religious Worſhip, after the manner of the Church of *Rome*, in the ſame manner as if they were authoriſed by Law, and were not contrary to our Cuſtoms; His Majeſty conniving at the Errours of an obſtinate and ſtiff-necked Nation. But for all this, we muſt know, that there is an Orthodox Clergy alſo all over *Ireland*, conſiſting not only of *Engliſh*, but of *Iriſh* men born, who every where

enjoy the Tythes. But after the firſt breaking out of the Rebellion, both, as well the *Engliſh* as *Natives*, were forced to flye and withdraw.

The greateſt part are Strangers, but *Free Denizens*, who, though they are ſprung from *Engliſh* Race, yet partly by Marriage, partly being Naturalized, through long Converſation and Cuſtom having forgot their Original Stock, are in Cloaths, Humour, and Carriage, tranſformed into the Manners of the *Natives*.

The Pope's Nuncio head of the Rebels.

The Chief and Head of all theſe, though a Stranger, was *John Baptiſta Renuncio, Prince and Biſhop of* Firma, *the Popes Nuncio*; who paſſing through *France* on his Journey to *Ireland*, did not wait upon the Queen of *England* being then there, and openly threatned, that he would ſuffer no man to remain in *Ireland* that wiſhed well to the King, or who ſhould be found to favour the *Engliſh* or their Affairs.

Theſe kindled, and in all places blew the Coals of Rebellion, and, that the Breach might not be made up again, uſed all means by Rapine, Murder, and all ſorts of Villany to put things into confuſion; to overthrow the Government, renounce the *King*, chuſe a King of the Ancient Race, or of ſome new Family, whether the *Pope* or King of *Spain*, or to erect a new Common-wealth of the Clergy and Deputies of the Nobles. Yet I muſt except *Clanricard*, *Taff*, and ſome few more; who though they were zealous Roman-Catholicks, yet perſevered in their Loyalty and Obedience to the King.

Some Catholick Nobles Loyal to the King.

Iriſh *Planters.*

Planters I call all thoſe, who being of the Roman Catholick Religion, from the time of *Henry* II. went over from *England* into *Ireland*, and in a continued Succeſſion, continued there until the

Reign

Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. These also being privy to the Conspiracy, whether that they might maintain the *Roman Catholick Religion* in security, and at the same time increase their civil Jurisdictions and Immunities, or carried away with the Tide of Rebellion; or, in a word, that they might secure themselves and their Estates in a common Rapine, had already joyned with the other *Papists*, who nevertheless, before that time could never be endured to pollute themselves with such barbarous Cruelty, and so many unparallell'd Murders, or to fall off from the Government of *England*.

Why they fell off,

Being before most Loyal.

They who lately went over into *Ireland* about the latter end of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, either for the Wars, or for Planting and Setling there, were for most part faithful to the King, except those who were deluded by the Authority of *Parliament*, or infected with Presbytery by the Neighbouring *Scots*.

A Colony of *Scots* transported into *Ulster*, by Authority from *King James*, had encreased to the number of forty thousand Families. These in the beginning of the Troubles, following the Ceremonies of their Countrymen, sided with the Parliament. But King *Charles* being beheaded, and the *English Monarchy* quite overturned, they changed their minds, and set themselves valiantly upon revenge, under the Command of the Earl of *Ards*, Collonel *Monro*, *Audley Mervin*, and Sir *Robert Stewart*.

The Irish *Scots*,

Now fight for the King.

Coot Governour of *Derry*, *Monck* of *Dundalk*, and Principally *Jones* Governour of *Dublin*, stood for the Rump-Parliament. But *O-brian* Earl of

Coot, Monck, and Jones, stand for the Rump Parliament,

Inchiqueen for the King.

of *Inchiqueen* Governour of *Munſter*, with that whole Province, and all his Forces, who had ſworn to be true to the King and Parliament jointly, after the Murder of the King renouncing the *Rump-Parliament*, declare now for the King alone. Hitherto we have taken pains to deſcribe the various Inclinations, Deſigns, and Purpoſes of the *Iriſh*, now let us ſee by what *Orphean* Harp or Charm, they were united into one.

How the Royaliſts joyned together.

In the firſt Part we told you, how the *Marqueſs of Ormond* was forced by the treachery of the *Iriſh*, to deliver up to *Jones*, *Dublin* with the whole Garriſon, and all that continued in their Duty. From that time the Pope's *Nuncio* Commanded in Chief, except in thoſe places which were under *Jones*, *Coot*, and *Monck*, which eſpouſed the Party of the *Rump-Parliament*. He took to himſelf the whole Power, made Laws, pronounced Judgments, drew up and muſtered Armies, managed the War, and impoſed money, with an abſolute and deſpotick Authority. But by this means he became both hated and deſpiſed, ſo that having received one blow after another (eſpecially *Preſton's* Forces being defeated by *Jones*, he grew weak both in Men and Authority. This opportunity was laid hold upon by *Clanricard*, who Commanded one Army in *Ulſter*, and *Taff* who Commanded another in *Munſter*, who having conſulted with *Inchiqueen*, reſolved upon it as the moſt expedient courſe, to implore the *Royal* Aſſiſtance again, Unite together into one, and to ſend forthwith to the Queen and *Prince* of *Wales* to acquaint them with what they had done; confeſſing that the Truce was not faithfully obſerved, and diſcovering thoſe by whoſe fault and inſtigation

The arrogance of the Pope's Nuncio was his ruine,

And the cauſe of Preſton's *defeat.*

The Union of the Iriſh *in favour of the King.*

Who humbly deſire the Queen and Prince of Wales *to ſend over the Marqueſs of* Ormond *with ſupplies and Authority.*

inſtigation it was broken: They moreover moſt humbly beg, that the *Marqueſs of Ormond* may be ſent over with Authority and Supplies, and engage upon conditions which were not diſliked by the *King*, to fight under his Banner, till the broken Forces of the Rump-Parliament ſhould be utterly deſtroyed, and his Majeſty and they themſelves fully reſtored to their former peace.

The *Popes Nuncio* ſuſpecting that matters would fall out ſo, and that the ſtorm which his Government had raiſed, would break over his own head, forbids any farther Treaty, threatens the Contraveeners with dire Puniſhments; and at length ſtrikes thoſe that perſiſted in their purpoſe, with the uſual Weapon of *Excommunication*. But that blunt Thunderbolt ſcared no body; for they march againſt him, and beſiege him in the Town of *Galloway*: Whilſt, in the mean time, the Lord *O-brian* diverts the Succours that *Owen-Ro-Oneal* deſigned to bring to his Party. Then the *Pope's Nuncio* deſpairing of relief, capitulated for a diſhonourable Retreat, and departed. Whilſt theſe matters were acting, the Glorious *King Charles the Firſt*, Murdered by the Hands of Rebel *Parricides*, Crowned his Death with Martyrdome.

The Nuncio frets,

And being beſieged,

Capitulates for a departure.

Nevertheleſs, the *Marqueſs of Ormond* being rid of that difficulty, and having a new Commiſſion and Inſtructions from *King Charles the Second*, repairs to *Corke*, and ſhortly after to *Kilkenny*, where a Parliament, or Convention of the States of *Ireland* was then kept; and after long Debates on each ſide, they came to a great many Articles of Agreement; of which, this was the ſubſtance.

Ormond *coming to* Kilkenny, *where a general meeting of the* Iriſh *was held, they come to Articles of agreement.*

After

After a Recognition, whereby they owned his Majesty for Soveraign, and lawful *King* of *Ireland*, and that they would to the utmost defend him with their Lives and Fortunes; they agree, *That the King should give the* Irish *free liberty of their Religion. That if it seemed fit to the Deputies or Commissioners*, (who were appointed to the number of eighteen) *a Parliament should be called within two Months, wherein Papists as well as others should have liberty of free Voting; and that the King shall confirm their Acts, provided they be not grievous to Protestants. All Acts and Decrees past since* August 1641, *that might be dishonourable to the* Irish *Nation, shall be repealed. That all Law Suits, Sentences, Actions, or Processes commenced or determined since that time, be wholly abolished, and that the* Irish *be restored to the Lands and Estates whereof they had been dispossessed. That all Impediments be removed, that were wont to barr the* Irish *Papists from sitting in Parliament. That all Debts be reckoned to be in the same state as they were in, in the Year* 1641, *and that no body be molested nor troubled upon that account. That the Lands of the Barons and Nobles in the Counties of* Toumond, Clare, Tipperrary, Limmerick, Kilkenny, *and* Wicklo, *be adjudged to the ancient Possessors, and their Titles made good by new Acts. That Inns be Erected for the Students in Law, wherever the Lord Lieutenant shall think convenient; and where Degrees also in the Law may be taken, as well as in* England. *That Places and Titles of Honour, and beneficial Offices, may be free both to Papists and Protestants. That the use and Exercise of Arms, Commands, and Governments, may be in the power of the same; and that during the War, five thousand* Irish *Foot, and two thousand Horse be kept in pay. That the Court*

of

of Wards be abolished, and in lieu of it, twelve thousand pounds a year payed into the Kings Exchequer. That no Peer have liberty to Vote by Proxy: That the Nobles be obliged within five years to purchase Lands, a Baron to the value of two hundred pounds a year, a Viscount four hundred, an Earl six hundred, a Marquess, eight hundred, and a Duke a thousand. That they may be free to treat of the independance of the Parliament of Ireland, upon that of England. That those of the Kings Privy-Council shall meddle with no Affairs, but the Publick: That Suits about Titles be referred to the Judges of the Kingdom, to whom it belongs to try them. That the Acts against the Exportation of Irish Wool, Tallow, and other Goods out of the Kingdom, be repealed. That they who have been under any pretext, Fined, or Punished, in the County of Ulster, since the first of King James, shall be relieved according to Equity. That the Inhabitants and Citizens of Corke, Youghal, and Dungarban, be restored to their Possessions, that they were turned out of in the beginning of the War, provided they give Security for their Loyalty, and that they shall not be troublesome to the Garrisons. That an Act of Oblivion be past, of all things before committed, those excepted, who stand guilty of Barbarous and Inhumane Crimes. That it be lawful to none of the Nobles to Farm the Customes. That Laws be made against Monopolies. That the Jurisdiction of the Court called Castle-Chamber, be moderated. That the Law be abrogated, which ordained, That Horses should not draw the Plow by the Tail, and that the Straw should not be burnt to separate the Corn from it. That Law Suits about Sea Matters, shall be decided in the Chancery of Ireland. That, for the future, all Actions, about the want of Title, shall be suppressed, if the

owners

owners have from ancient times poſſeſſed the Lands by any Right. That alſo all Intereſt for Moneys, ſince the beginning of the Troubles, be diſcharged, and that, for the following years, it exceed not five per Cent. a Year. That the Deputies or Commiſſioners ſhall impoſe ſufficient Taxes, for carrying on the War, both by Sea and Land; either by way of Exciſe, or any other way, that they ſhall judge moſt convenient for the Publick. That Juſtices of the Peace ſhall have Power to determine Suits, under the value of ten Shillings. That the Governours of the Popiſh Perſwaſion, enjoy the Governments and Commands that they are at preſent in poſſeſſion of. That the Tenths of taken Ships, and Impoſitions upon Commodities, ſhall remain in the hands of thoſe to whom they have been granted, until further order be taken about all theſe things. That the Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, Grand Aſſizes, and Goal-delivery, ſhall have Power, according to the ſtanding Laws, of puniſhing Murders, Felony, Thefts, and Robberies, until the twentieth of May following. That Courts be eſtabliſhed, according to the Will and Pleaſure of the Deputies, or Commiſſioners, in matters belonging to themſelves. That the Romiſh Prieſts, who behave themſelves modeſtly, ſhall not at all be moleſted; but ſhall enjoy the Salaries paid them by the Laicks for their maintenance, and the encloſures of the ancient demoliſhed Monaſteries and Abbeys. As to ô-ther matters, that the King, with conſent of his Parliament, ſhall order them. For expeding of thoſe Conditions, the Papiſts choſe about fifteen Deputies, or Commiſſioners, that, as ſo many Mediators, betwixt the King and the People, they might bring back the Confirmation of them.

So

So dear did a frail and tranſitory Peace with Rebels coſt the *King*. But neceſſity is a prevalent Orator, that perſwades Men even to unbeſeeming, and, many times, to diſhonourable Reſolutions. Nevertheleſs, the Lord Lieutenant, whether willingly, or unwillingly, agrees to theſe Articles. And the Peace is inſtantly proclaimed by the Heralds.

Ouen-Ro-Oneal, Jones, *and ſome others, find fault with the Articles of Pacification.*

But *Ouen Ro-Oneal*, and the Native *Iriſh*, that were on his ſide, refuſed to acquieſce to theſe Conditions of Pacification, under pretext, that *their Religion was not ſufficiently ſecured.* *Jones* alſo, and others, find fault with the Commiſſions, as too ample, and (as they gave it out) unſeaſonable; and that likewiſe they were patcht up with the *King*, without the Authority of *Parliament*.

But the Lord *Ards*, with the reſt of the *Scots*, who abominating the *Rump-Parliament*, firſt favoured, and then ſtruck in with the Kings Party, beſtir themſelves bravely in taking in the *Caſtles* and *Garriſons*, which held out for the Rebels in *Ulſter*.

The Lord Deputy, alſo General of the Forces, ſets about a difficult work.

The Lord Lieutenant being General, in the mean time, had many and great Affairs to mind. Men, Arms, Money, Ammunition, and all Military Proviſions are wanting; which nevertheleſs were to be raiſed amongſt Men of contrary Intereſts, different Perſwaſions, and who mutually hated one another. The *Engliſh*, indeed, were of themſelves ready to undergo any danger; but they were but few in number, and of bad Correſpondence with the *Iriſh*, by reaſon of their ancient Feuds and Animoſities: And ſuſpecting their Courage, no leſs than their Loyalty, they decline to ſerve with them under the ſame Enſigns. The *Iriſh* again being in a great part

Treache-

Treacherous, Bloody, and Perfidious, divided amongſt themſelves into ſeveral Factions, were more apt to ſheathe their Swords in one anothers Bowels, than to fight againſt the Common Enemy. Nevertheleſs by his own Preſence, Wiſdom, Diligence, and at his own Charges, being aſſiſted with ſeven or eight truſty Commanders, he luckily maſtered all theſe difficulties. He found the Magazines of *Ireland* exhauſted, the Treaſury empty, and the Citizens and Inhabitants, in whoſe Hands was all the money of the Kingdom, very unwilling and ſparing to contribute, and the *Roman Clergy* oppoſing and undermining his Deſigns.

And at length raiſeth an Army.

Wherefore in the beginning he got together a ſmall Army, which being increaſed in number by the conjunction of *Inchiqueens* Forces, and the reſt of the *Engliſh* his fellow Souldiers, for the firſt Months he provided them pay either of his own money, or what he could borrow from others. Thus being pretty well provided with Men and Ammunition, he marches through *Queens County* ſtreight againſt *Jones*, and by the way, takes in ſome Caſtles belonging to *Owen-Ro-Oneal*, of which the moſt remarkable were *Kildare* and *Talboth*.

And marches againſt Jones *Governour of* Dublin.

Jones having had certain intelligence of this March, advanced to meet the *Lord Lieutenant*: But being informed by his Spies, that he was coming with a greater Army, than he was able to encounter, and diſtruſting his own Souldiers, he forthwith returns to *Dublin*. The Lord Deputy, in the mean time, paſſes the River *Liff*——where having called a Council of *Inchiqueen*, *Taff*, *Dillo*, *Preſton*, and the reſt of the Principal Commanders, they conſult what

what was beſt to be done; whether they ſhould beſiege *Dublin*, or, directing their courſe another way, take the Towns about, or elſe rather block up the City, and at the ſame time have an eye upon the other places. Being as yet doubtful what to do, they advance to view *Dublin*, and ſo to take a reſolution upon the ſpot. But *Jones* expected them with an Army without the Walls, but under the Cannon of the Town. Both Armies were drawn up, but without any Skirmiſhing. That night the *Lord Deputy* Quartred at *Finglaſs*, three miles diſtant from *Dublin*: Next day all the Papiſts, both Men and Women, that were unfit for War, are thruſt out of the Town; and the Cavalry that were needleſs in the Siege, are ſent to *Drogheda*, at the mouth of the River of *Boin*, that they might incommode the Enemy in the Rere, and take care to ſend Proviſions into the place.

Which place, after a Council of War, he firſt views.

Jones preparing for a defence, ſends the ſuperfluous Cavalry to Drogheda;

So ſoon as the Lord Lieutenant had notice of this, he ſends the Lord *Inchiqueen*, Lieutenant-General, to purſue *Jones*'s Horſe, and if opportunity offered, to take in the Towns on all hands. In the mean time he thought it not convenient to divide his Army, but to encamp and entrench himſelf with his whole Forces near *Dublin*, that he might intercept the Proviſions going into the place, and entice the Souldiers and Citizens to deſert it; not doubting but that the Souldiers would be eaſily inclinable to do ſo, Affairs being doubtful, his Neighbourhood affording opportunity, and the City being ſtraitned for want of Proviſions; and the rather knowing, that moſt of the Souldiers who were in Garriſon had formerly ſworn to be true to him. This he

Who are forthwith purſued by Inchiqueen,

found to be a ſucceſsful reſolution; for about two thouſand by ſtealth, and as every one beſt could, taking occaſion to get out, came over to his Camp. Nay, he was not wanting to eſſay *Jones* himſelf, by many fair Promiſes which he made him one after another. But he, that he might oppoſe Art to Art, having threatned the Deſerters with moſt ſevere Puniſhments, pretended a willingneſs to comply with honourable Conditions, and ſhuffled off the Treaty with ſhifts and delays, though ſometimes he ſeemed to be at a ſtand and uncertain what to do. However he ſent private intelligence to the *Rump-Parliament*, and the General, in what dangerous ſtraits he was; earneſtly beſeeching them to haſten the ſending him Relief. In the mean time he ſurrounds the Walls, views the Works, repairs what is defective, caſts up new Works, plants Paliſadoes, drives ſharp Stakes into the ground; and did what lay in his power to fortifie the place: Nay, and having ſallied out upon the Enemies Camp near *Finglaſs*, he took, amongſt other Priſoners, a Relation of his own, whom, for a terrour to all others, that they might not deſert, he cauſed to be hanged.

And being partly ſlain and taken, and partly made to fly to Drogheda, *in a ſhort time he took the Town it ſelf.*

Inchiqueen on his part, falls in upon a Troop of *Jones's* Horſe, and beat them in their Quarters; and next morning purſuing the reſt, that were Commanded by the Younger *Coot*, he eaſily put them to the rout; ſo that moſt part of them being either killed or taken, he purſues the reſt as far as *Drogheda*; in which place the Souldiers and Towns-People being put into great conſternation, in a Weeks time he reduced it under his own power.

About

About the ſame time the Lieutenant-Gederal *Inchiqueen* had notice given him of an Agreement betwixt *Ouen-Ro-Oneal* and *Monck*, made at *Dundalk*, whereby all neceſſary Proviſions, Powder, Shot, and Mony were to be furniſhed for the relief of *Derry*, blockt up by the Lord *Ards* and *Scots*; and that *Ouen* afterward ſhould make an Inrode into *Leinſter* and *Munſter*, that by this Stratagem he might draw off the *Lord Lieutenant* from the Siege of *Dublin*. To put this in Execution, *Farell* is Commanded out with five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe. But *Inchiqueen* waiting for him in his return, charged him, routed him, and obtained the Booty he intended After that, having received freſh recruits of Men, he beſieges *Dundalk*, which notwithſtanding *Moncks* reſiſtance, the Souldiers delivered up after two days Siege, with all the Artillery and Ammunition: And being thus encouraged by the Smiles of Fortune, and chuſing rather to make advantage of his Victories, than to enjoy them, he reduced, *Green-Caſtle*, *Neury* and *Trim*. After which good Services, he returns to the *Lord Lieutenant*, having left Garriſons in the places he had taken, better provided of Men, Mony, and Ammunition, than before.

And beats Farell *upon his return from relieving of* Derry.

Takes Dundalk,

And other Towns,

And victoriouſly returns to the Lord Lieutenant.

But ſeeing we have in this place made mention of *Ouen-Ro-Oneal*, it is fit we relate a great Action of his, before we continue the Hiſtory of the Siege of *Dublin*. The Lord *Ards*, with the other Commanders, had driven all the *Engliſh* Forces out of *Ulſter*; only *Derry*, under the Command of the Elder *Coot*, remaining, which could give them any moleſtation. It is a City

ſeated upon *Logh Foyle*, where it contracts it ſelf into narrower compaſs, and is on each ſide beautified with goodly Meadows and Paſtures, as the Water is inriched with Fiſhes. Heretofore a Colony of *Engliſh*, under the Conduct of Colonel *Docwray*, was there eſtabliſhed; and many *Londoners* flocking thither afterwards, it was called *London-Derry*; the delightfulneſs of which place, drew to it ſo vaſt a number of Inhabitants, that it became, without Controverſie, the chief City of *Ulſter*. *Ards* uſed all diligence to reduce this laſt place, but not by Storm, Approaches, or Mines, but by Building new Forts, or taking thoſe that were round it, that ſo intercepting all Relief by Sea and Land, it might at length be forced to ſurrender. And, indeed, Proviſions being exhauſted, and all other neceſſaries wanting, they had been reduced to utmoſt ſtraits, had not *Ouen-Ro-Oneal*, in the very nick of extremity, and when the Garriſon were at the laſt gaſp, brought them ſuccour. For he, though he had been, in a late overthrow, ſufficiently bang'd by *Inchiqueen*, yet haſtens with five thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe, to ſnatch the City out of the Jaws of the Enemy; which, indeed, he performed very ſucceſsfully and ſeaſonably. For ſwift-flying Fame having brought the news of his approach, *Ards* thought it ſafer preſently to draw off his Army, than raſhly to fight this Enemy, that had the *Engliſh* in the City to aſſiſt him, and leave Garriſons in Convenient places, that might curb and block up the Town, till upon *Ouen*'s departure, the Siege might be renewed again.

London-Derry *ſtraitned by* Ards,

Is relieved by Ouen-Ro-Oneal,

But *Ouen*, with the joint aſſiſtance of the Beſieged, takes in all the Neighbouring Forts, and reſtored diſtreſſed *London-Derry* to full liberty.

Now

Now the Reader is to take notice what Reward he had from the *Rump-Parliament*, for ſo important an Action. He had made an Agreement in writing, Signed and Sealed, with *Coot* and *Monck*, for relieving *London-Derry*, in name of the *Rump-Parliament*, which was ſent into *England* to be Confirmed by the *Members*. Letters were likewiſe ſent in Favour of *Ouen*, commending and extolling him for a *Juſt Enemy*; *a ſtrict obſerver of his Faith, a Man of Conſtancy and Reſolution, and true to his word, and who, if they thought it fit, would be very uſeful to their Cauſe.* And both of them flatter him with hopes, as if there were no doubt to be made of the Conſent of the *Rump-Parliament*.

Who made an Agreement with Coot *and* Monck, *to be Confirmed by the Rump-Parliament.*

The *Rump-Parliament* trifled away time in deliberating about theſe Conditions, until they might have intelligence of the overthrow of *Ormond*, and of the Succeſſes of *Cromwel*. And then they reject *Ouen-Ro-Oneal*; thanking *Coot* and *Monck* for their Faithfulneſs, and good Services they had rendred to the Parliament.

And yet is ignominiouſly rejected.

But without longer digreſſion, let us return to *Dublin*, and *Inchiqueen*, who having performed Actions beyond expectation, returned triumphantly to *Finglaſs*, where the *Lord Lieutenant* had ſettled his Camp. A Council of War being held there, it was reſolved to beſiege *Dublin*; but yet to try firſt if they could reduce it by Hunger, rather than by a Storm and Aſſault, leſt that Royal City, and Capital of all *Ireland*, might be Sackt, or Burnt by the enraged Souldiers; and Friends and Foes be equally deſtroyed. It was therefore thought fit to attack it on both ſides; and for that end, the Lord *Dillo* being left with five hundred Horſe, and two thouſand Foot, to block up the North

Dublin *is beſieged.*

and farther side of the City, the *Lord Lieutenant* himself, with the rest of the Army, crossing the River, lies down upon the other and South side of it.

But whilst they are passing over to go to *Rathmecus*, (where the River being narrower, afforded a more convenient place for building a Fort, to hinder Importations into the Town) the *English* Fleet comes in view, with relief to the Besieged; wherein were embarked Colonel *Reynolds*, Commander of the *Horse*, and *Venables*, who had the Command, not only of his own Foot, but also of the Regiment newly raised by *Monck* and others. They, all in Health and good Plight, had set Sail from *Chester*; and, with a prosperous Wind, arrived at *Dublin*, bringing with them all necessary Provisions. With them also came no small number of Temporizers, who presently flying over to the Royal Camp, give it out for a certain, that no more Men were to come to the relief of *Dublin*; but that the whole *English* Army was to sail to *Munster*, where it was clear, that many of their Friends, and not a few of *Inchiqueens* Men, who loved changes, would joyn with them.

Reynolds and Venables bring relief from England.

The Lord Lieutenant *being informed by Deserters, that* Cromwel *was to Sail to* Munster,

So soon as the *Lord Lieutenant* heard this, he forthwith designs *Inchiqueen* for *Munster*, with the choicest of his Foot, and almost the whole Horse, with orders to oppose the Enemy, incourage and confirm the Province, and to beware of those whose Fidelity and Honesty was suspected. He, in the mean time, resolved to raise the Siege, and encamp his Souldiers at some distance, in two or three distinct Camps, where being strongly entrenched, they might assist one another, if occasion required, watch the

He resolves to send thither Inchiqueen, *with the greatest part of his Forces,*

And with the rest to block up Dublin, *and intercept Provisions.*

the Enemy's motion, and hinder Provisions from being conveyed into the Town.

But at the very instant, the Commanders repining that they should be disappointed of the Booty, which they thought themselves sure of, whisper about, that they observed the Enemies Horse feeding without the Walls; and that if an old demolished Castle, called *Baggors-wreath* about a Musquet shot from the Walls, were new Fortified, which might be done in a Nights time, the Enemy might be hindred both from Forage and Provisions, which being wanting, *Dublin* must of necessity be surrendred within the space of a Week. And therefore they earnestly desire, that before they drew off, they might have leave to attempt this.

The Commanders allured with the hopes of Booty, obtain first leave to straiten the Besieged, by Fortifying an old Castle near the Walls.

The Counsel, upon viewing the place, was thought good; and it was not long before the Army was drawn out, and a choice made of Pioneers for the Work: To whom Orders were given to repair the Castle, raise it higher, and cast up a Wall about it, whilst the Horse and Foot were in readiness behind to defend them. About Mid-night the *Lord Lieutenant* came, thinking that the work had been almost finished: but finding that it was not as yet begun, by their mistaking the way, having severely chid the Labourers, and placed another Overseer over them, he encourages them to the work; then returning to the Camp, he kept Watch all the rest of the Night, and by break of day gave Orders that the Army should stand to their Arms, and be in a readiness, whilst he refresh'd himself a little in Bed. But before he had been there an hour, he was wakened out of sleep by the noise and firing of Shot; and starting up immediately to see what the matter was,

The Counsel took;

But the work not as yet finished, Jones unexpectedly fall in upon them,

Alas! he found too late, that the Souldiers had been negligent in keeping Watch; and that in the mean time *Jones* had broken in into that half-repaired Castle, and that the Captain of the Guard being at first onset killed, all his Men were turned to a shameful flight. These things succeeding so well with the Enemy, their boldness (as it usually happens) increasing with their good Fortune, not only the whole Souldiers, to the number of twelve hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot, but a great many of the Citizens also came rushing out of the Town, and fiercely charge the Kings Forces, who were in disorder, putting all into Confusion, there being nothing but Horror, Noise, Slaughter, and flying of Men, to be heard or seen. In this deplorable state of Affairs, the *Lord Lieutenant* having with Sword in Hand, Prayers, and Intreaties, in vain endeavoured to stop and rally the Fugitives, he breaks through the thick of the Enemy, crosses the River, and encourages *Dillo* with all speed to come to the assistance of the Army, and fall upon the Enemy, now wearied, and busie at Plunder. But he finds them, tho they had not as yet seen the Enemies Face, seized with a panick Fear, throwing away their Arms, and betaking themselves to flight.

And having defeated all the Forces of the besiegers, obtains a great Victory.

In this fatal Engagement, the wealthy Camp is plundered, and all that during the space of a whole year, had been with much Labour, and most diligent care gathered together, is scattered in the twinkling of an Eye. Three thousand Men were killed, two thousand and one hundred private Souldiers, an hundred and fifty Officers, higher and lower, taken, above eight thousand Arms, the Tents, Warlike Engines, all the Baggage and Ammunition fell all into the hands of the devouring Enemy.

A

A great Overthrow indeed, and which gave an incurable wound to the Royal Cauſe in *Ireland*. The Kings Souldiers taking the advice that was given them in their flight, betake themſelves to *Drogheda*. The *Lord Lieutenant* haſtens to *Kilkenny*, that he might muſter his broken Forces, having, upon his march, ſummoned the ſtrong Caſtle of *Belliſon*, upon pretext that *Dublin* was taken, which ſurrendred. There having repreſented to the *Convention of Eſtates* that were ſtill ſitting, what loſs he had ſuſtained, and having moved them for Supplies and Money, he ſets forward to *Drogheda* with three hundred Horſe: And that in a very opportune time; for *Jones* had haſtned thither with ſome Horſe, that by the ſole preſence of the Conquerour, he might reduce the City, now in diſorder, by the news of the late overthrow and confuſion of the Souldiers. But the coming of the *Lord Lieutenant* ſcaring away *Jones*, the Fear and Danger were both quickly over.

Part of the Kings Souldiers fly to Drogheda.

The Lord Lieutenant to Kilkenny,

And then to Drogheda,

And delivers it from the fear of Jones,

Next he Fortifies *Trim*, *Neury*, *Dundalk*, and other neighbouring places, putting ſtrong Garriſons where it was needful; he views all places, gives Orders, and prepares for a vigorous defence; being reſolved to meet *Cromwell*, if he came that way, whilſt his Horſe relieving the places that were in danger, he might in the beginning of the Spring raiſe a new Army.

And alſo Fortifies other places.

But in that alſo his hopes were in vain. For *Cromwell* having received the glad tydings of the Victory, ſet Sail from *Milford-Haven*, and that he might purſue the Point upon the diſcomfited Enemy, and carry the Wound home to the Heart, he ſteers his Courſe ſtraight to *Dublin*, with a Fleet of about

In the mean time Cromwell *ſlighting* Munſter, *arrives at* Dublin;

bout an hundred Ships, Men of War and Tenders; and, wholly ſlighting *Munſter*, arrived there in the Month of *Auguſt*, One thouſand ſix hundred and forty nine, where having put aſhore the Souldiers, with the Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage, he makes a *General Muſter*, of about fifteen thouſand Men, moſt of them old Souldiers; for he thought it better to excel in Valour than in Number, and to take along with him ſtout Hands, and not many Heads. He declares *Jones* Lieutenant-General, *Ireton* Major-General, and *Reynolds* General of the Horſe, aſſigning to every one their ſeveral Offices. He orders *Venables* to march to *Derry* to the Elder *Coot*, with a Regiment of Horſe, and two Regiments of Foot. He himſelf, with ten thouſand Men, marches ſtreight to *Drogheda*, having committed the care of the Fleet to *Aiskew* the Admiral.

With fifteen thouſand old Souldiers;

Of whom he marches with ten thouſand to Drogheda;

In this Town the *Lord Liuetenant* had put the Flower of his Veterane Souldiers, moſt *Engliſh*, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a Gentleman Renowned in the Wars, both at home and abroad, but for the moſt part unfortunate. And here *Cromwell* reſolved to make his firſt Eſſay of the War. *Aſton*, on the contrary, laid his Deſign to tire out, and break the Enemy, inſolent through Victory, by the badneſs of the Weather, Watching and Hunger; then expoſe them to be harraſſed and alarmed by the *Lord Lieutenants* Horſe, and the Foot that were ſhortly to be recruited, until the Royaliſts being reaſſured, and encreaſed in force, might have the courage to provoke the *Cromwellians*, and fight them in a pitched Battel.

Which was defended by Sir Arthur Aſton *and the Flower of the Kings Army.*

But

But he flatters himſelf in vain; for *Cromwell* attacks not the place by opening of Trenches, ſlow Approaches, and the other acts of a Siege: But having forthwith cauſed a Battery to be raiſed on the North ſide of the Town, and planted with Guns, he ſo plied the place with continual Shooting, that he quickly made two Breaches in the Wall; and immediately Commands an Aſſault to be made, that with Courage and Reſolution they might force their entry into the place. But this having been twice unſucceſsfully attempted, he himſelf, with *Ireton*, commanding the Attack, with Indignation and Courage, redoubled by the former repulſes, they make the way which they found not, into the Town, and put to the Sword all they meet, without favour or compaſſion. The Governour, with ſome of the Souldiers, fled inſtantly to the Caſtle, a place ſtrong by Art and Nature; but the *Cromwellians* entering *Pell-mell* with them, (ſome of whom clambered up the Walls, not without the help of the Souldiers of the Garriſon,) they were all put to the Sword. Some flying into the Church, are killed as Sacrifices at the Divine Altars; not a few poor wretches having got up to the Church Roof, were forced to tumble down, by the ſmoke of kindled Hay and Gunpowder. There was but one ſingle Perſon that ſaved his life by deſpair, who for fear of the Flames, throwing himſelf headlong down from the top of the Church, fell amongſt the Enemies, without any other hurt, but that he broke his Leg; whom, for the extraordinarineſs of the thing, they ſpared and kept alive. The reſt fleeing to the Ramparts begg'd quarter, but in vain. All

Cromwell *forthwith batters the Walls:*

He himſelf commanding the attack, makes his way into the Town, and kills all he meets.

are

The ſad ſpectacle of the Town taken.

are knocked down whereſoever they are found, neither the Gown nor the Dwelling Houſe afforded any Protection, nor was there any great reſpect had to either Sex. The Souldiers continued three days in cruelly ſlaying the Towns-People that had carried Arms, whom they dragged out of their lurking holes, and in Pillaging and Plundering the Town: Nay, and thoſe alſo who after the fifth day came creeping out of their hiding-places, were moſt inhumanly put to death.

The number of the ſlain.

About four thouſand Men died in that Butchery, rather than Fight. So within the ſhort ſpace of one Week, was that City undone, which for whole three years together had reſiſted all the Rage and Attempts of the *Iriſh Rebels*.

The Garriſons about, either deſerted, or eaſily ſurrendred.

This Town being thus taken and plundered, the *Royal* Cauſe was quite extinguiſhed in *Ireland*: For all the other Garriſons were terrified into ſo great a conſternation, that they trembled at the very Name of *Cromwell*. The Towns or Places that were ſufficiently provided, make either no reſiſtance at all, or but very faintly. The Garriſon of *Dundalk* in great fear betake themſelves to flight, in their haſte leaving behind them their Braſs Guns. *Neury*, *Green-Caſtle* and *Trim*, with ſome others, ſurrender with a little leſs diſhonour, and fall under the power of the Enemy.

The Lord Lieutenant is deſerted by many of the Engliſh *Souldiers;*

The *Lord Lieutenants* Levies, in the mean time, go ſlowly on. The *Engliſh* in many places falling off to the contrary Party, which had Fortune, and moſt of their Country-men on their ſide; yet, whether it was through the Severity of Diſcipline, or the Example and Authority of the Commanders, they were with

with much adoe for ſome time kept together; but at length, moſt deſert and quit the Service: There were ſome however, whom ſhame, a ſenſe of Honeſty, and a reſpect they owed to their Commanders, ſtill retained within the bounds of Loyalty and Duty. *But yet not by all.*

The *Iriſh* fall likewiſe into pieces; ſome hating the *Lord Lieutenant* as a *Calviniſt*, whom God would never bleſs; others not diſſembling their ſatisfaction at the unſucceſsful Battel of *Dublin*, and the taking of *Drogheda* much more, wherein more of the *Engliſh* and Royal Party periſhed; which gave them hopes that for the future, the Government muſt of neceſſity fall into the Hands of the *Roman Catholicks*, or rather be changed. The Towns who had engaged to pay money into the Exchequer, either wholly refuſe to do it, or do it but ſlowly. Nay, the *Roman Catholicks* ſet light by all that the *Convention of Eſtates* and *Deputies* acted. The *Titular Clergy*, and truly Implicite Papiſts, refuſe to pay any Taxes. And when, according to the circumſtances of Time, Places, and Perſons, they were perhaps, ſomewhat rigidly exacted, they preſently complain, and cry out of breach of Faith, and that the Conditions of Peace are violated, and under pretext of a juſt and equitable Government, an abſolute Tyranny exerciſed. Factions and Animoſities began to ariſe amongſt the Souldiers alſo; ſome following the *Roman Catholicks*, and others the *Royal Catholicks*, whilſt many weary of the War, were ready to ſave ſtakes and compound with the *Rump-Parliament*. Nevertheleſs the *Lord Lieutenant* raiſed an Army, ſuch as he could; but not ſuch as he durſt engage *Cromwell* with; which *The Iriſh ill affected towards him.* *Yet he raiſes an Army.*

which nevertheless might appear now and then at a distance, cut off some of his Parties, and often intercept his Provisions.

Cromwell understanding his designs, resolved not to be idle, nor to let slip his opportunities; but laying hold of occasion by the Fore-lock, he gives *Huson* the Command of *Dublin*, with Orders to molest and give no rest to all the Country about, with the Auxiliary Forces that were joyned him. And he himself passing by *Dublin*, marches straight to *Wexford*.

Huson, put into the Government of Dublin,

Cromwell marches to Wexford,

This is but a little Town, though a convenient Harbour for Ships; and for Importing Provisions and other necessaries of War into the very heart of *Ireland*, more Commodious than the Port of *Dublin*. This place being summoned to render, the Governour *Synott* seemed not at first averse; only delayed time, until he might receive a supply of five hundred Men under Collonel *Buther*. At length, there being no more hopes of a Surrender, *Cromwell* forthwith attacks it; and at first makes himself Master of a Castle (not without suspicion of treachery) that commanded the Walls; then battering the Town and Walls with his great Guns, the Garrison being disordered with so sudden a misfortune, and forsaking their Posts, he takes the Town. Nevertheless, the *Wexfordians* flocking together into the Market-place, as if their blood after a little fainting fit had more impetuously burst out of the heart, their *All* being at stake, they made a brave resistance: but the Match was unequal; for they all fell under the Sword of the Conquerour; and so the Garrison paid dear for their late standing to the defence of the Town;

Summons it to render.

Then making an attack, he first takes the Castle, And then the Town.

Town; which being plundered, was committed to the Government of Colonel *Shelburn*.

Wexford being thus ſubdued, the Neighbouring Places ſurrender of their own accord, *Wickelow*, *Arklow*, and which hardly deſerve the naming, *Euiſcorven* and *Fuernes*. It was now about the midle of *November*, when the coldneſs of the Weather, and continual Rains ſeemed to require that the Souldiers, who were troubled with Fluxes, and other Diſeaſes which attend a Camp, ſhould be ſent into Winter-Quarters. Nevertheleſs, *Cromwell* is for new Victories, and ſtraight marches to *Roſs*. The River *Barrow* runs by this Town, affording a ſafe Harbour for Ships of eight hundred Tun Burden, which may lay their ſides to the very Walls, and it is ſituated four miles above *Waterford* upon the *Suir* that falls into the *Barrow*. The Lord *Taff* was Governour of this place; and on the other ſide of the River was the Army, with the *Lord Lieutenant*, the Earls of *Clanricard*, *Ards*, and *Caſtle-Haven*; who, in view of *Cromwell*, ſent a reliefe of fifteen hundred men into the Town. Yet for all that, *Cromwell* attempts the place, and with ſix or ſeven great ſhot, ſoftens the Governours reſolution; who, delivering up the Town with the Canon, upon condition to march out with the Garriſon to *Kilkenny*, about ſix hundred *Engliſh* falling off to the Enemy, he marches thither with fifteen hundred. A horrid piece of Villany, and not to be excuſed; were it not for the bad Correſpondence that was betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Souldiers, and that he would preſerve his own *Iriſh* entire for a Battel, and divide at leaſt *Cromwells* Forces by the multitude of Garriſons;

Thence he marches to Roſs, *with an Army ſick and much weakened*;

Of which Taff *was Governour, having juſt received a ſupply of fifteen hundred men.*

Yet upon the firſt attempt he ſurrenders the Town, and marches to Kilkenny *with fifteen hundred men.*

rifons; his Army being already much impaired, and hardly able to wagg, worn out by Fatigue, Fluxes, lying abroad in the Fields, and for want of Winter-Quarters.

Peace betwixt the Lord Lieutenant, *and* Ouen,

About this time, by the Mediation of *Daniel Oneal*, a Peace was made betwixt the *Lord Lieutenant*, and *Ouen-Ro-Oneal*, with the reſt of the *Iriſh Papiſts*, almoſt upon the ſame Conditions as we told you formerly had been offered to the *Rump-Parliament*, and were rejected by them; and thereupon both Forces Joyn. But *Ouen* ſhortly after died.

Who ſhortly after dies.

The Princes Rupert *and* Maurice, *with ſix Ships, hover upon the* Iriſh *Coaſt, and* Blake *purſuing them, they fly to* Kingſale:

Nor is it here to be paſs'd over in ſilence, how the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, with no more than ſix Ships, the remaining part of that Fleet which two years before fell off from the *Rump-Parliament*, had the boldneſs to infeſt the Seas, hover upon the Coaſt of *Ireland*, put in Souldiers and Ammunition, and by all ways divert the ſupplies of the Enemy. But *Blake* and *Popham* purſuing them with a ſtronger Fleet, they were fain to fly to *Kingſale*; and from thence, the Sea-men being idle, and running away to the Enemy, that they might conſult their own ſafety, prevent the danger that might befall them from the defection of *Munſter*, which they might foreſee, and that they might have the opportunity of Sea-room, Wind and Tide favouring them, they break through the whole Fleet of the Enemies, and with the loſs only of two Ships, eſcaping out of that nooſe, they ſteer their Courſe towards *Portugal*.

Being block't up there, they eſcape through the Enemies Fleet, and ſet Sail for Portugal.

But this is out of the Rode. I now return to *Cromwell*, whoſe Victories were ſuch, as could not be limited by the banks of the River of *Barrow*. For he caſt over it a Bridge of Boats at *Roſs*; having firſt taken *Eſtionege*, a ſmall,

Eſtionege being taken, Cromwell *makes a Bridge of Boats over the* Barrow.

ſmall, but Walled Town, ſtanding upon this ſide of the ſame River, five Miles above *Roſs*. Afterward having paſt a great part of his Horſe, with his nimbleſt Foot, he reduces *Carick*, a Town upon the River *Suir*, eight miles above *Waterford*; then quickly croſſing the River, he takes *Paſſage*, a very ſtrong Fort with five Canon, lying two Miles below *Waterford*, where the Conjunction of the two Rivers *Suir* and *Barrow*, by the impetuoſity of the Current, render it difficult for Veſſels to reach the Town. Nay, he had the boldneſs to attaque *Waterford* it ſelf, though in vain. But *Dungarvan*, which the *Engliſh* Souldiers might have defended, with the Canon and Ammunition, is delivered up into his hands.

He takes Carick and Paſſage,

He attempts Waterford, but in vain.

And now at length *Cromwell* begins to think of Winter Quarters for refreſhing of his Men, who were not above four thouſand Sound and in Health. The *Lord Lieutenant*, on the other hand, had eight thouſand, which, though for the moſt part they were raw Men, yet were very conveniently poſted. But what he had beſt to do, or whether to go, he was uncertain. For neither could he march back to *Dublin*, being at ſuch a diſtance, without a neceſſity of Fighing; nor yet Winter in thoſe parts, without the greateſt Inconvenience, the Enemy being poſted about him on all Hands, who would continually Allarm him, and intercept his Proviſions.

Now at length he bethinks himſelf of Winter Quarters.

Whilſt he was caſting about in his mind what courſe to take, the moſt deſirable, and by *Cromwell*, long expected defection happened; for all *Munſter*, that had ſtood for the *King*, revolted to the *Rump-Parliament*. Some combined Souldiers had long ago given hopes of this, if ever occaſion offered; and now *Cromwell* being

All Munſter revolts.

upon their Borders, and past the River *Barrow*, when they saw Succours at hand, they attempt the performance of what they had promised.

The Treachery long ago essayed at Youghal,

The first sparks of this Flame, appeared long ago at *Youghal*; which the *Mayor*, and a great many Citizens, conspiring with two *Colonels*, and other Commanders, agreed to deliver into the hands of *Cromwell*. The Lord *Inchiqueen* smelling the Treachery, seized the *Mayor* and Souldiers, and committed them to Prison in *Cork*, *Youghal*, and *Kingsale*, until they might be brought to a fair Tryal. But that kind of Custody was unlucky, since thereby the sparks spread farther. For the *Colonels* being too negligently kept at *Cork*, draw over the Commanders, one after another, into the same Conspiracy; and in the absence of *Inchiqueen*, whil'st the Souldiers carelesly kept the Guard, they of a sudden seize the Town. From thence the sparks fly into *Youghal*, *Kingsale*, *Bandon-Bridge*, *Mallow*, and other places, and by the coming of the Lord *Broghill*, Colonel *Far*, and a great many of *Cromwell*'s Forces, was fomented into a Conflagration.

Is now accomplished at Cork,

Where Inchiqueen's *Lady and Children are imprisoned*,

Inchiqueens House at *Cork* was plundered; where neither the modesty of the dress could protect his Lady, nor innocent Age his Children; for all together were clapt up in Prison, and there detained, till by an exchange, that happened shortly after, they were set at liberty. Here at length *Cromwell* in the beginning of *December*, put his Men into Winter Quarters, and disappointed the *Lord Lieutenant*, who had intercepted his way, on his return to *Dublin* with an Army double in number. Nor will it be amiss in this place, to take notice of the death of *Jones*, for it happened about the same time,

And Cromwell *puts his Men into Winter Quarters.*

Jones *dies.*

time; who baſely ſtained the Reputation that he gained in ſubduing the *Iriſh Rebels*, by the defending, even unto the laſt, the Cauſe of the Murderers of the King.

The *Lord Lieutenant*, in the mean time, that he might provide, what lay in his power, againſt enſuing Storms, calls a *general Council*, where repreſenting how grateful and profitable the Diviſions and Animoſities were to the Enemy; he intreats the *Clergy*, *Nobility*, and *Gentry* to mutual Peace and Concord, ſhewing them how that might be done. This produced amongſt all a pretence of Sorrow for what was paſt, of true Friendſhip, by ſhaking Hands, and promiſes of mutual Aſſiſtance, in cauſing the Commands of the *Lord Lieutenant* to be obey'd, pay raiſed for the Souldiers, Quarters, and other neceſſaries for the War provided, and in perſuading the Inhabitants, eſpecially of *Limmerick*, *Waterford*, and *Galloway*, to Obedience and Submiſſion.

The Lord Lieutenant calls a general Council, and perſuades Diſſenters to Union:

Which they all pretend.

This put the *Lord Lieutenant* in heart again, who, whilſt *Cromwell* refreſhed his Men in Winter-Quarters, reſolves to recover *Wexford*, and *Paſſage*: For the effecting of which, *Inchiqueen*, *Armſtrong*, and *Trevers*, are deſigned for the one, and *Farell*, with the Forces of *Ouen-Roe-Oneal*, for the other. *Farell*, marching ſecretly to *Paſſage*, falls into the Snare that he had laid for others. For *Cromwell* preſently having notice of the Deſign, *Colonel Zankie* purſues him in the Rear, Alarms, and puts him to flight, kills three hundred, takes two hundred, and had not ſuffered a Man to eſcape, if, in the nick of time, *Farell* had not, in great diſorder, croſs'd the River in Boats.

He endeavours to recover Paſſage *by* Farell;

Who, by Zankie, *is intercepted and put to flight*;

In vain imploring the aſſiſtance of the Waterfordians.

By this misfortune it plainly appeared how the *Waterfordians* were affected, whilſt, though *Farell* earneſtly begg'd it, they denied the uſe of their Boats, of which they had plenty, to the poor Fugitives; nor would they ſuffer them in this danger to enter the Town, nor any of them to Winter without the Walls, though it was put to their option, to chuſe what Men and Colonels they pleas'd; nor would they afford them any Pay, or Money for providing Victuals, and other neceſſaries.

Inchiqueen being about to recover Wexford, *is hindered by* Nelſon.

Neither did the *Wexford* Expedition ſucceed better; for *Inchiqueen* marching thither, when he was but five Miles from the place, by croſs Fortune, he met with Major General *Nelſon*, who had then Command in thoſe parts: *Inchiqueen* charged him; and although he put ſome of his Men to flight, yet he was taught by the reſt, that it would not be ſo eaſie a matter to ſubdue *Wexford*: And *Huſon* marching towards *Arklow*, frightened him from proceeding farther: The Souldiers in the mean time agreeing ill among themſelves.

Cromwell *having received Recruits from* England, *divides his Forces, and marches againſt the Enemy.*

About the ſame time *Cromwell* received a ſeaſonable ſupply, both of Men and Ammunition partly from *Briſtol*, and partly from *Milford Haven*. And ſo being ſufficiently recruited, about the latter end of *February*, he drew out his Army, and reſolved to fall upon the Enemy. And therefore he thought fit to divide his Forces, and march different ways, that he might amuſe the Enemy, as not knowing whither he deſigned. He himſelf goes before with the light Horſe-men, and part of the Foot, by *Maltow*, the upper way into the County of *Tipperary*. By another way, *Ireton* and *Reynolds*, with the reſt of the Horſe and Foot, the Artil-

lery

lery and Ammuition, march towards *Carick*; *Broghill*, with ſome Horſe, being left behind to ſcour the Country, ſecure *Munſter*, fly too and again, and watch the motions of the Enemy. *Ingoldsby* had Orders with a Select Party to hover about *Limmerick*, where he fell in into the Quarters of three hundred of *Inchiqueens* Horſe, with three Colonels, and other Commanders, and routed them; two of which Colonels, *Broghill* condemned to be ſhot to death.

He eaſily takes a great many Garriſons.

Cromwell takes in *Cahir* Caſtle, ſtanding upon a high Rock in the River *Suir*; as alſo, the Caſtles of *Kiltemon*, *Foldea-Bridge*, *Clogen*, and *Roghill*, and lies down before *Calan*, a Town of the ſame name with the River; where *Ireton* and *Reynolds* joyn him with the other part of the Army, having, upon their March, reduced ſeveral Caſtles, as *Arkemon*, *Dunder*, *Knoctovery*, *Bullinard*, and others; and having beſieged *Calan* with three Camps, and *Raynolds* having put an hundred and fifty Horſe to flight, in a days time they take it, putting all to the Sword, except *Butlers* Men, who being ſummoned, ſurrendred before a Gun was fired. After that, they make themſelves Maſters of *Fethered*, and *Thomas* Town, with the adjacent places. And now *Cromwell* calls *Huſon* from *Dublin*, to joyn him with what ſupplies the Men of *Wexford*, and the neighbouring Garriſons could afford, which amounted to three thouſand five hundred. He, having by the by taken *Belſannon*, and *Kildare*, comes to *Lochlin*, which being without any difficulty reduced, he croſſes the *Barrow*, and joyns *Cromwell*. The firſt thing they attempt after this Conjunction, making now eleven thouſand Foot, and about four thouſand Horſe, was to

Calls Huſon *with his Forces to joyn him.*

They jointly take Gora.

beſiege the Town of *Gora*; which place, either truſting too much to its own Strength, or relying on *Ormonds* Regiment, under the Command of *Hammond*, was, to its own misfortune, ſo bold as to make a reſiſtance. But after that the Walls had for ſome time been battered, the Garriſon began to Mutiny, and the place was inſtantly ſurrendered; the Conquerour inflicting no other puniſhment upon them, but the cauſing the *Colonel* and the *Commanders* to be ſhot to death.

Then they march to Kilkenny, *the place where the Committee of the Eſtates met.*

From thence they march to *Kilkenny*, through which runs the River *Noir*, a pleaſant place, and, without compariſon, the chief of all the In-land Towns of *Ireland*; but withall, the Spring-head of an execrable Rebellion; and the Center, as I may juſtly call it, from which all the Treaſons, and damnable Councils againſt the *King*, Country, and Religion, were as ſo many Lines drawn; it was, as yet, the ſeat of the Commitee of Eſtates, who, upon the approach of the danger, fled to *Athlome*—— upon the River *Shannon*——upon the Borders of *Connaght*, as a place more ſecure for their Conſultations. *Kilkenny* is divided into three parts, one on the farther ſide of the River, the other with a Caſtle oppoſite unto it, and the third ſeparated from the other two by Walls. *Cromwell* lies down before it, and according to the Cuſtom of War, ſummons it to ſurrender: The Governour refuſing, without more delay, he attaques it by force, and having obſerved a convenient place, he preſently raiſes a Battery, and from thence plays upon the Town.

The Governour now perceiving the danger, cauſes forthwith two works to be caſt up within the Walls, with Paliſadoes, and Engines laid

laid in the way to hinder an entry, whilſt the Souldiers, in a full Body, were poſted behind to receive the Enemy, if they attempted it. The Breaches being made in the Walls, the Retrenchments within appear. Therefore to facilitate the Aſſault, *Ewers* is commanded, with a thouſand Men, to fetch a compaſs about, and at the ſame time to attaque the other Town adjoining to this. Here they come to blows, but with more Reſolution than Succeſs; the Beſiegers being beat off, with the loſs of about ſeventy Men, two Colonels, and other Commanders. Nevertheleſs *Ewers* gains the Town, which though divided from the other, yet ſerved to ſtraiten it, and diſtract the Garriſon. Next Night another Officer is ſent over the River with a Body of Men, that by break of day he might break in into the other Town; which he having performed with the loſs of thirty Men, whilſt he attempted to burn down the Gate, to make way into the City over the Bridge, about fifty being expoſed to ſhot, fell. At length the Governour perceiving himſelf attacqued on all hands, and that there was no hopes of relief: He capitulates, and upon theſe Conditions, delivers up the City into the hands of the Enemy, *That the Canon, Arms, and all the Ammunition, ſhould be delivered to* Cromwell; *all the Citizens have leave to continue in the place, or to remove any where elſe, as they thought fit: That the Officers and Souldiers, ſhould with Arms, Bag and Baggage, march to* Athlome, *and that the Citizens ſhould pay two thouſand pounds to* Cromwell. And ſo in eight days time, (for the Siege laſted no longer) *Kilkenny* was reduced under Subjection, which for a great many years had given Laws to all the reſt.

Which having made a brave Reſiſtance, at length yields upon Conditions

The Siege of Clonmel.

Next upon the Stage of War ſucceeds *Clonmell*, a conſiderable well Peopled Town, and walled round, lying upon the *Suir*, four Leagues from *Waterford*. This place was defended by *Hugh Boy-Oneal*, with a Garriſon of two thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe; whoſe Reputation was much heightned by his Pains and Aſſiduity, as having cauſed ſeveral conſiderable works to be made for the ſecurity of the place. Hither does *Cromwell* now convert the ſtreſs of the War: and having encamped, and ſtrongly entrenched himſelf, he ſends two thouſand five hundred Horſe, under the command of *Reynolds*, and *Theophilus Jones*, the Brother of the late *Jones*, to hinder the *Lord Lieutenants* Levies, and to reduce Towns every where, as occaſion did preſent.

Reynolds is ſent to hinder the Lord Lieutenants *Levies,*

For he underſtood that the *Lord Lieutenant* having held a Council of the *Iriſh* Nobility and Biſhops, at *Baltimore*, in Weſt *Meath*, it was reſolved, that on the one hand, that is to ſay, in the *North*, *Cromwell* ſhould be kept in play, and harreſſed with frequent Incurſions, whilſt he ſhould make greater Levies, and join together the Forces of the Counties: that on the other hand, to wit, in the South, the Biſhop of *Roſs* ſhould relieve the Beſieged in *Clonmell*, or at leaſt give *Cromwell* ſome diverſion.

With good ſucceſs.

But *Reynolds* being much ſtronger in Horſe, prevents the *Lord Lieutenant*, and, as if he had had him in a Toyl, renders all unſafe; nor did he deſiſt, before he had driven the Earl of *Caſtle-haven*, and all the Governours of Caſtles, into *Connaght*. Nay, and over and above, he took *Bala-houſe*, near to *Trim*; and forced *Finagh*, and other neighbouring places, to Surrender.

But

But a greater ſtorm was coming upon the *Engliſh* out of *Munſter*; for the Biſhop of *Roſs* pittying the Condition of ſo many brave Men, that were Beſieged in *Clonmel*, advanced to their relief with four thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe. But *Broghill* meeting him with twelve hundred Foot, and fourteen hundred Horſe, part of which he himſelf had, and part he had received from *Cromwell*, he eaſily defeated, and put them all to flight, having ſlain and wounded ſeven hundred, and taken an hundred Priſoners, and amongſt them the *Biſhop*, whom, becauſe he had turned his Myter into a Helmet, and uſed the Temporal Sword, inſtead of the Spiritual, he cauſed ignominiouſly to be hanged before *Caringdred*, which Garriſon, he having lately taken in *Munſter*, the Captain would not deliver up, till he was terrified by that ſad Spectacle.

Broghill takes the Biſhop of Roſs *coming to the relief of* Clonmell, *and bangs him up.*

In the mean time the Siege of *Clonmel* is carried on; and though the Garriſon bravely defended it, and had beat off the Enemy in a fierce Aſſault, with the loſs of Colonel *Culham*, and many others; yet fearing, ſince there was no hopes of Relief; that they would at length fall as Sacrifices, under the bloody hands of *Cromwell*, packing up Bag and Baggage, about Mid-night thay deſert the Town, and ſecure themſelves by flight. The *Mayor* and Towns-People, deſtitute of Defence, without mentioning the departure of the Garriſon, deſire a Ceſſation and Parly; and upon condition of ſaving their Houſes from being Plundered, and of liberty of living as they had formerly done, they very willingly open their Gates.

The Garriſon forſake Clonmel, *and make their eſcape by night:*

But the morning diſcovering the trick, *Cromwell* was vexed, and ſends ſome Troops to purſue

Whom Cromwell *in vain purſues.*

ſue the Garriſon in the Rear. But they were before got out of reach, having in the night time paſt the Hills and moſt difficult ways; but the *Cromwellians* overtaking many Straglers, who by reaſon of their Wounds, or other hindrances ſtaid behind; amongſt them there were not a few Women, put them all without Mercy to the Sword. Afterwards the little Towns that lay about *Duncannon*, *Waterford*, and *Carlow*, were taken in, that theſe ſtronger Garriſons being more and more ſtraitned, if they could not by Force and Aſſault, they might at leaſt, at length be ſtarved into a Complyance and Submiſſion.

He eaſily ſubdues ſeveral ſmal places.

Nor were the other *Cromwellian* Commanders leſs ſucceſsful, in the remaing parts of *Ireland*. For the Elder *Coot* joyned to *Venables* in *Ulſter*, not to mention any but the principal ſtrong holds, took *Culmore*, *Done*, *Ems* Caſtle, ſeated in *Logh Suile*, *Colrane*, famous for a Salmon fiſhing, ſtanding commodiouſly upon the Riyer *Wane*, *Armagh*, and (the *Scots* and *Iriſh*, to the number three thouſand four hundred, whom *Monro*, a *Scottiſh* Man, brought to raiſe the Siege, being cut off) *Karick*, *Fergus*, *Belfaſt*, *Caſtlefordan*, *Carlingford*, *Margraff*, *Monagh*, and *Liſkelagh*. At length he routed *Eyer-Marmahon*, Biſhop of *Cloger*, who, by the Votes of the *Ulſter Nobility*, being ſubſtituted in place of the late *Oneal*, commanded four thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe. But coming to an Engagement, they were all broken and diſperſed, and their Mitered General taken and Hanged. It is obſervable of this Army, that they were all *Roman* Catholicks, who upon that account more confidently promiſed themſelves the Victory. *Charlemont* coſt a great deal of

The Exploits of the Elder Coot *in* Ulſter.

Who takes the Biſhop of Cloger, *the General of an Army, and hangs him up.*

of Labour and Pains, nor at length would the Garriſon ſurrender it, but upon very honourable terms. *Huſon* alſo ſubdued *Kilmalock*, *Hariſton*, *Hau*, *Blackwater*, *Rabrig*, *Talbo*, *Ath*, *Dermit Caſtle*, and which we mentioned before, *Kildare*, *Betſannon*, and *Lochlin*. I purpoſely omit *Yekrohan*, and other places which *Reynolds* and other Commanders ſubdued to the reſt of *Logh Foyl*. Huſons Victories.

It was about the beginning of *May*, when *Cromwell*, within leſs than a year, with wonderful ſucceſs, having carried his victorious Enſignes through three Provinces of *Ireland*, like a thunderbolt of War; of whom it might truly have been ſaid, (and to his praiſe, had he fought for his Prince) *Veni, vidi vici, I came, I ſaw, I overcame*, is now recalled to freſh Labours, and to a new War againſt the *Scots*, of which I ſhall haſten to the Relation, after I have given the Reader, in one glance, a view of the remaining affairs of *Ireland*. *Cromwell*, Ireland *being almoſt ſubdued within the ſpace of a year, is recalled for the Scottiſh expedition.*

Cromwell therefore haſtening his expedition, leaves *Ireton*, his Son in Law, General of the Forces of *Ireland*; who without longer delay beſieges *Waterford*, and at the ſame time two other Caſtles, *Carlow* and *Duncannon*. *Preſton* Commanded *Waterford*; not very willing to hold out a place difficult to be maintained, by reaſon it was beſet on all hands, and no hopes of relief. Nevertheleſs, at firſt he ſeemed to carry high, and demands Conditions accordingly, which being rejected by the Enemy, when he perceived himſelf ſhut up within the Walls, Batteries raiſed, and the great Guns begin to roar, he abates a little of his height, and at length condeſcends to theſe Articles: *That the Ships, Guns, Ammunition* *He leaves his Son in Law*, Ireton, *General in* Ireland; *to whom* Waterford *being Beſieged yields, upon Conditions.*

tion, and publick Proviſions, ſhall be delivered up to the Common-wealth. That the Governour, all the Colonels, inferiour Officers and Souldiers, with their Horſes, ſhall march out with Drums beating, flying Colours, charged Muſquets, lighted Matches, and have ſafe conduct to Athlome.——*That the Sick and wounded Towns-People ſhall remain there, until they recover. That ſuch as intended to tranſport their Families beyond Sea, ſhall have three Months time to do it in. That thoſe who would ſtay at home, ſhall be free from all Injuries. That the Servants of* Preſton *ſhall have liberty to pack up, and carry away all his Goods that he hath, either in this place, or elſe-where, at* Carlow. In the ſame manner, and upon the ſame Conditions, out of *Carlow* and *Duncannon*, fifteen hundred Men marched, all under the Command of young *Preſton*, for the elder was at that time ſick.

And in the ſame manner, Carlow *and* Duncannon.

But it is now time to return to the *Lord Lieutenant*, whom, as the *Papiſt Clergy* had by all means formerly withſtood; ſo now affairs declining and daily running into Ruin, they licentiouſly ſlight and deſpiſe; for they grow openly mutinous, and infect others with the ſame itch of Rioting. They accuſe the *Lord Lieutenant* in preſence of the *Lord O-Bryan*, *Inchiqueen*, as the Diſturber of the Affairs of *Ireland*, whoſe continuing longer at the Helm, would quickly be the ruin of the Government; but that if he alone would undertake the management of Affairs, being a perſon deſcended of *the ancient Race of their Kings*, whom they had found to be a Valiant, Watchful, Faithful, and Succeſsful *General*, they all promiſe to ſwear Obedience to him, and willingly ſubmit to his Government. On the other hand, they whiſper the *Lord Lieutenant* in the Ear, that *Inchi-*

The Papiſt Clergy baſely affected towards the Lord Lieutenant;

From whom they endeavour to alienate the mind of Inchiqueen.

As alſo the Lord Lieutenant *from* Inchiqueen.

Inchiqueen, having been an inveterate Rebel, had not as yet laid aſide the thoughts of his ancient Enmity; nor would he cordially defend the cauſe of thoſe; againſt whom he had been ſo long accuſtomed to draw his Sword, that if the *Lord Lieutenant* would conſent to lay him aſide, the *Iriſh* would unanimouſly joyn, and in all things obey his Commands. Thus, whilſt by an abominable Treachery and Hatred to either, they ſtrive to Calumniate and Blacken both, they make it their buſineſs to propagate Faction and Diviſions.

Bnt the *Lord Lieutenant* meeting the Biſhops and Great Men, earneſtly exhorts them, *That at length laying aſide all private Grudges and Animoſities, which ſtill remained to be compoſed, they would conſult the Publick Intereſt, become Friends, and unanimouſly prepare for a more vigorous defence. That they would reflect upon the great danger they were in, three Provinces being already almoſt wholly ſubdued, and the laſt not like to reſiſt much longer. That if his Government was leſs grateful to them, and was a hindrance to the defence of the Country, he would haſten his departure, and commit the charge to another.* (For he had already ſecretly obtained leave to depart, from the *King*, being ſtill at *Jerſey*, and had got the Goverment conferred on *Clanricard.*) When they heard this, all of them pretended extraordinary Sorrow, that they would ſubmit to his Will and Pleaſure, baniſh all mutual Jealouſies, and perſwade the Towns to Obedience. They departed with glad and cheerful Countenances, as *abundantly ſatisfied*, though they were ſtill inwardly diſcontented: So true it is, *That thoſe whom God intends to deſtroy, he firſt infatuates.*

The Lord Lieutenant *exhorts to Concord and Obedience,*

Being ready to renounce the Government for the Publick good.

The Iriſh *at preſent ſeem ſorrowful;*

For the Inhabitants, and *Roman Catholick Clergy,*

Clergy, combining privately together, kept Clubs and Cabals, and dispersed infamous Libels, wherein they shew the Rancour of their Minds, by calumniating the *Lord Lieutenant*, as *unactive, Cowardly and Treacherous*; *finding fault with the Commissions that were granted to Officers of the Reformed Religion*; *and repining that the War should be committed to the Care and Conduct of unfit Men, wholly addicted to Whoring, Gaming, Gluttony, and Impiety*. The Bishops of *Cork*, and *Toam*, and of *Clonfert*, and the rest of the Clergy, declare the Government void, and the Followers of the *Lord Lieutenant* liable to Excommunication. And therefore they order the Army to be Disbanded before they could think of the raising of another. Nevertheless the *Lord Lieutenant*, that he might as much as lay in his Power, preserve the Forces in their Duty and Loyalty to the King, he left the charge of them to the Earl of *Clanricard*, with the Title of Lord Deputy, who being admitted by the unanimous consent of all that stuck to the Kings Party, took upon himself the management of the War. A general Muster being thereupon appointed, new Levies are made, the Souldiers Exercised, necessaries for the War provided, and all things prepared afresh, the *Clergy* being very *Zealous*, and the People assistant in carrying on the Work.

But presently again fall to Calumniating,

Thuamensis, Clonfertensis. *And declare his Government void.*

He therefore yields, and appoints Clanricard *his Deputy: Who having made new Levies,*

About that time *Ireton* betook himself to Winter Quarters in *Dublin*, that he might consult with the *Commissioners* of the Commonwealth, about the future War, and other Affairs; having left Orders to *Axtel*, Governour of *Kilkenny*, to have an eye upon the Garrisons about *Athlome*. *Axtel*, by chance, whil'st he was upon Duty, fell in with *Clanricards* Men;

Goes on prosperously,

who

who passing the *Shannon* at *Athlome*, had taken some of *Iretons* Garrisons, and had surprised more, if he had not come in the nick of time. They charge *Axtel*, who being much inferiour in number, retreated a little, until being recruited from *Wexford*, and other places, he had joyned thirteen hundred men to the eight hundred which he himself had: and then he made head against the Enemy. But so soon as they began to Skirmish, though the *Irish* were five thousand Foot; and four hundred Horse strong, yet not daring to venture a battel, they retreat to the River *Shannon*, and skulk in two Boggs about *Melecha* fortifying themselves with Poles and Stakes driven into the ground, and filled up with Earth, as by a double Wall. However the *English*, leaving no means unessayed, and breaking through all impediments, bravely drove them out of their Station, and destroyed them five hundred men, who were partly slain and partly drowned. After this overthrow, it was thought safer, in the very extremity of Winter, to keep the Souldiers betwixt the *Shannon* vast Lakes, and the *Collough* Mountains, than any more to molest the Enemy, whom daily Success made bolder.

Till Axtel, *who upon the first encounter had retreated, that he might procure Recruits,*

Beat him out of his Camp fortified by two Lakes, and put him to flight.

The Reader may be apt to wonder that the *Irish* shewed themselves so Cowardly and Timerous, during the whole Series of this War, as if from Men they had degenerated into Women, being every where defeated, though they fought for their Lives and Liberties. But whoever equally weighs matters, will easily leave off to wonder. For on the one hand, he'll find the *English* provided of all necessaries for a War, unanimous amongst themselves, all expert in War, and confiding (as it is usual) in

Why the Irish *so Cowardly.*

They are compared with the English *Souldiers.*

in their continual good Fortune. The *Iriſh*, on the other hand, almoſt without Arms, for moſt part deſtitute of Weapons, and other neceſſaries, diſagreeing alſo amongſt themſelves, miſerably rent into Factions, raw and unskillful in War, and in a manner cowed by conſtant ill Fortune. Beſides, they are neither comparable to the *Engliſh* in *Foot* nor *Horſe*, how brave ſoever they be in Foreign Countries. The private Souldiers, I know not whether it be by the Skill and Knowledge they have of the Bogs and lurking Places, that they are to ſoon enticed to fly; or that, through the force of an old Cuſtom, they could not but turn their Backs envied to the Blows of the *Engliſh*. Now, as to their Horſe, they are far exceeded by the *Engliſh*, not only in number, but alſo in the quality of the Horſes, and *Riders*. The Horſes, indeed, march but ſoftly, but in bulk of Body, ſtrength of Limbs, and Courage; one Troop of them, is worth three almoſt of the *Iriſh*, and breaks Ranks better. And the *Riders* again are for cloſe Fighting, diſcharging their Piſtols in the Enemies Breaſt, and laying about them with their Swords. Hence it is, that in every Engagment, the *Iriſh* preſently betake themſelves to flight, nor can they endure the looks, yea, hardly the Neighing of the Horſes of the *Engliſh*. I hope the Reader will pardon me, that I have tacked this Apology for the *Iriſh* Nation, as an Appendix to the work. I now return to the Hiſtory.

A treaty with the Duke of Lorrain.

In the very depth of Winter, the Biſhop of St. *Cathdrin* came ſeaſonably, as an Agent from the Duke of *Lorrain*, who, as a token of his Maſters Affection, brought with him a conſiderable ſum of Money, and promiſes of more, if they

they agreed in Treaty, pretending great kindneſs to the King, Kingdom and People. The ſums of the Propoſals which he made to the afflicted Party, was: *That the* Duke *with ten thouſand Foot, five thouſand Horſe and thirty Ships ſhould come into* Ireland, *and with the Title of Protector carry on the War. That the* Duke of York *ſhould Marry his Daughter. That* Limmerick *and* Galloway, *with the Magazine, Guns and Ammunition ſhould be put into his hands. That he ſhould have ſome cautionary Towns for ſecurity of the Moneys to be raiſed. That the Inhabitants ſhould have a care to keep the Enemy out of* Connaght *until his Arrival.* Theſe Conditions were debated, but whether agreed to or not, I am uncertain; and the Envoy departed to acquaint his maſter with his proceedings. But that *Atlas* was not ſtrong enough to ſupport the falling Firmament; and there was ſo much time ſpent in the Treaty, that the oppportunity of relief being paſt, ſhewed only its bald Poll inſtead of the favourable Forelock. *But fruitleſs.*

The Spring began now to come on; but *Ireland* ſeemed to be in its autumn ready to be cut down. All that *Clanricard* could do, was to ſhew his tayl, and flap with ſome convulſive motions and vibrations of a dying Nation, like the laſt blaze of an expiring light. He views all places, by which the Enemy might break into *Connaght*; he poſts Soldiers at all the paſſes of the river *Shannon*, as alſo at the river *Roxr* and the *Collough* mountains, wherever any paſſage might be found. Clanricard. *ſtops all the paſſages for the enemy into* Connaght.

In the mean time *Ireton* call'd *Coot* out of *Ulſter*, with two thouſand horſe and as many good foot, that he might come and join him near *Galloway*. *Coot* that he might deceive the

Enemy, pretends that he is to march to *Sligo*, and there ſtops, as if he were about to beſiege that Caſtle; until he had drawn thither all the *Iriſh* Forces: From thence turning ſuddenly back again, he found a pretty eaſy paſſage over the tops of the *Collough* hills. Now muſt I relate by what means *Ireton* got into *Connaght*. He; (having left *Broghill* in *Munſter*, *Ingoldſby* in the parts oppoſite to *Limmerick*, *Huſon* in Weſt *Weath*, *Venables* in *Canan*, and *Zankie* in *Tipparary*) he marches to the River *Shannon*, and at three ſeveral places together, (not without ſuſpicion of Treachery at *Killalve*) he paſſes over his Forces, the Foot in boats, and the Horſe for moſt part ſwimming: Whilſt *Huſon* in the mean time alarm'd *Athalone*, as if he were ready to attack it. *Clanricard*'s men being beat out of all places, he then over a wooden Bridge ſends over his Canon and Baggage; and without longer delay joins *Coot*, as it had been agreed upon.

Yet Coot *by ſtratagem having paſt the Collough mountains got into it:*

Ireton *paſſes the river* Shannon *at three places.*

Athalone *with other Garriſons are preſently taken.*

The Enemy being too weak to make reſiſtance, *Athalone*, *Portumna*, *Tagera* and ſome leſſer Garriſons are taken. Then having divided the Army, *Coot* marches to *Galloway*, *Ireton* to *Limmerick*, *Coot* had already forced *Farel* with an Army of three or four thouſand men to retreat into the Woods, Bogs and other unacceſſible places about *Galloway*; and therefore daring to approach nearer the place, he encamps and entrenches himſelf, and ſo ſummons the Town to ſurrender. He is anſwered, *That if Conditions were offered for the whole Kingdom of* Ireland, *they would willingly liſten unto them.* But ſeeing he would grant none but private and particular Articles, both Parties prepare for a Siege.

Farell *being forced to retreat,* Coot *attacks* Galloway.

In

In the mean time *Limmerick* is blockt up on all sides, the river *Shannon* being also stopt. They had for about three weeks expected succours from *Muskery*, whose motion *Broghil* observing he had opportunely beat him off, destroyed and dispersed his Forces. Ireton *besieges* Limmerick.

The City is therefore incessantly batter'd, and the approaches carried on to the very Walls. Nor was the danger within the walls less than without; the Plague having long raged amongst the Inhabitants, and intestine divisions a no less grievous Plague daily increasing amongst them. Some, are for surrendering the Town forthwith, others again, for suffering rather the utmost extremity. The opinion that was for a surrender prevailing, they came to Articles; which before they were signed the Gates were opened, and the Castle delivered to the Enemy as an Hostage. The Conditions were; *That the Soldiers should lay down their Arms, and depart whither they pleased, except those who had embrew'd their hands in the innocent Blood of the English. That all the Arms Guns, Ammunition and publick stores should be delivered into the possession of the Conquerour. That those that had a mind to be gone, should have time to pack up their Goods, and Ships to transport them whithersoever they pleased. That four and twenty should be left to the mercy of the Conquerour.* So fell that beautiful and Rich Town, much frequented by reason of the advantages of the Sea and of the River *Shannon*, and strongly fortified but withal proud of its own Strength, Wealth and Riches; which, if it had not been divided, and if it had not again with a stiffness refused to obey the Governours, would not in so short a time, and with so small a loss of Blood have

Which upon Articles agreed upon, but not signed, is surrendered to him.

He causes the Bishop of Ferne *and some others to be hanged.*

fallen into the Enemy's hands. The Bishop of *Ferne* with many others are hanged: And the Bishop of *Limmerick* made his escape in disguise.

The death and character of Ireton.

But the place was fatal to the Conquerour; for as *Limmerick* fell, *Ireton* dies; concerning whom, since from a mean extraction he mounted to the Pinacle of Government, it will not be amiss that I speak a little. In Trinity Colledge of *Oxford* he was initiated in the liberal Arts, and made therein no contemptible Progress, afterward he applied himself to the Study of the *Common Law* in the *Temple*; in which having got a little smattering, from his very Youth he drank in the Errours of the *Anabaptists*, and assisted the *Fanaticks* in drawing up a Petition against the holy order of Episcopacy; which was afterwards by *Pennington* and a numerous rabble of *Londoners*, ready at that time for such attempts, presented to the Parliament. Not long after, the Troubles daily encreasing, he struck in with *Cromwel* when he was in the Isle of *Ely* being first admitted into his Quarters, then by *Cromwel* being made Governour of the whole Island, he was presently after advanced to be his Son in law. Having there served an Apprentiship, he enured his body to the War, by a voluntary lying upon the ground, fasting, watching and exercises, before he came to the Tryal of it, until by degrees he at length, advanced almost to the Chief command in the Army. Hence forward he became his inseperable Companion; especially in assisting him in all *Declarations*, *Articles*, *Letters* and *Treaties* that were to be made. He grew indefatigable in labour and pains, being accustomed to spend night and day in his head-piece and boots; and

in

in ordering of Civil Affairs also to watch till midnight at length, as the Devil would have it, he was one of the chief in shedding of the Royal Blood, his Memory, for that unparalelled Villany, being execrable to all Posterity. In *Ireland* he always stood by the *Anabaptistical Fanaticks*, relying upon their counsels for these he gave his Vote both in Civil and Military Affaires; and with them filled the Towns, Councils and Camp. At length this most cruel Pest of his Countrey, died of the contagious Plague.

Though he was removed, yet the War still goes on. For *Coot* with the unanimous consent of the Commanders, from *Limmerick* marches to the Siege of *Galloway*, which they straitly blockt up both by Sea and Lannd, *Clanricard*, having got leave to depart: Nor was it long before it was delivered to the Enemy, upon Conditions not unlike to those of *Limmerick*. And thus *Galloway*, the most noted staple of all *Ireland*, strong in fortifications, considerable for buildings, riches, numerousness of inhabitants, and open trade by Sea, submits to the yoke of the Enemies, in resisting of whom they had formerly denied the *Lord Lieutenant* their assistance. But as if they had not been sufficiently punished by War, the hand of God chastised them with a severe punishment, a following Plague having within the space of a year and a half swept away twelve thousand of the Inhabitants.

Galloway *prest* Coot,

Is taken.

And also consumed by the Plague.

Now was *Ireland* fully subdued; and henceforward the pleasure of the Commissioners went for Law; they being *Jones*, *Corbet*, *Ludlow*, and *Weaver*. To these it seemed good to begin their Government by the suppression of the Tories; a kind of robbers who have always, but not in so great numbers infested *Ireland*. Nor

Ireland *being now totally subdued, is governed by four Commissioners.*

Who first suppress the Tories.

Publick enemies.

is it a new thing amongst barbarous Nations, who whenever they find themselves oppressed by the Governours of *Provinces*, or otherwaies have run out their Estates and are broken, presently to shake off the Laws, refuse to labour the Ground, and despise Trades. Wherefore they betake themselves to the Mountains, Desarts, Bogs and Rocks, according as the Countrey is naturally fortified, declare War against all other Mortals, and live by Rapine. Such are the *Banditi* in *Italy* and *Spain*, the *Cossacks* to *Poland*, and others in other Countreys; and that we may not go far for an example of such wickedness, such are the *Moss Troopers* in *Scotland*, as will hereafter appear. For these in the night time lurk in Woods, Caves and Dens; but in the day time break out suddenly upon Travellers, or men about their lawful Business, and rob them both of Life and Money. And as often as they get together into a body, with desperate Barbarity, they burn and pillage Villages, add presently betake themselves to their lurking holes again. They are a kind of land Pirats; who wandring amongst Lakes and Bogs, according to the light-footedness of the Nation, they safely skip over the Quagmires and loose ground, wherein strangers unacquainted with the places that follow them commonly stick. They therefore give orders to the Soldiers, who had now nothing else to do, to divide themselves into small parties, and so to environ, hunt, and kill them like wild Beasts, which being done, they either mutually betrayed one another, or found their holds and lurking places to be so unsafe for them, that in two years time there was none of those Enemies of mankind any where to be seen.

In the mean time, the *Rump-Parliament* consult about a *Deputy*, who might succeed to *Ireton*, and sit at the Helm in the administration of the Affairs of *Ireland*; and by unanimous Vote they pitch upon *Lambert*. But whilst he is prepairing for his passage with greater Pomp than the times required, whether it happened by the advice of the *Commissioners* (who at that time affecting Equality, did not like such preeminence) or through the cunning of *Cromwell*, (at whose beck the Affairs of *Ireland* were managed, and who had lately privately married his Daughter, *Iretons* Widow to *Colonel Fleetwood*,) The Rump-Parliament changing their resolution, he has orders to lay aside his Title to Deputy, and go over to *Ireland* as a *Commissioner*. Which, *Lambert* a man most ambitious of Rule, and impatient to be baffled in the Honour that had been promised him; taking ill, and far worse, that the Command of the Army should be divided amongst men unacquainted with War, he thought it better wholely to renounce the Government of *Ireland*. *Fleetwood* therefore, embracing the same Conditions, having celebrated his marriage with the aforementioned Widow, passes over into *Ireland* in Quality of chief of the *Commissioners*, and besides of *Major General*.

It is consulted about a Successor to the late Ireton. Lambert *is chosen Deputy of* Ireland.

Whose Commission, whilst,

He is commanded to supply onely the place of a Commissioner.

Lambert *refusing,* Fleetwood *is sent.*

Now that the Reader may know who this man was, and to give some light to what follows after, I thought fit to premise these few things. He was the son of a Knight, the youngest of many Brothers, who, to get an honest living, applied himself to the study of the common Law; untill that the flame of Civil War spreading, he changed his profession, turned Soldier, and under the Earl of *Essex* served as

His Character.

a *Gentleman Volunteer*. Afterwards riſing from one degree to another, till he became a Colonel, he aſpired to the marriage of *Cromwell*'s Daughter, (as we have now related) ſhe being a Widow and he a Widower. His Religion from the Cradle was of the ſtrickt new Cut; and if he was not a ſtout profeſſour of *Anabaptiſm*, yet he loved to be thought a great favourer of it, not onely that he might ſerve a turn, and engage in a reciprocal aid and benevolence, but becauſe he was inwardly and ſincerely ſo. As he was no cunning man himſelf, ſo neither was he reckoned a a great prier into the Counſils of other men: And being ſo qualified, he became dear to the common Soldiers, and for that no ways ſuſpected by the more Powerful. In a word, he was no ill man, but that by taking up Arms againſt his own King, he had for ever ſtained his Reputation by the horrid Crime of Treaſon and Rebellion.

The broken remnant of the Iriſh *forces yield to* Broghill,

Now were the *Rump-Parliament* maſters of all *Ireland*, except of a few ſcattered Forces, who here and there lurked in obſcure and unacceſſible places: Of whom the greateſt part ſculked in *Munſter*, under the command of *Sullivan O-Beare*; and ſome in *Ulſter* under *Farel*. The former at length ſubmit to *Broghill*; but upon this Condition, that they might go beyond Sea, in Ships provided by the *Rump-Parliament* for that affect: the latter, to Colonel *Ludlow*, upon the ſame Conditions. And afterwards all the Military part of the Nation followed their example, and ſix and twenty thouſand departed the Kingdome, ſome to *Spain*, ſome to *France*, and the reſt whither they pleaſed, the *Engliſh* accommodating them with Veſſels for their Tranſportation; ſo that within the ſpace of

And Ludlow; *Having firſt obtained liberty to go beyond Sea.*

Eight

eight months, *Ireland* was left deſtitute of all its fighting Men, as being impatient of the *Engliſh* yoke.

Then was a *High Court of Juſtice* Erected, conſiſting of moſt of every Sect of the Counties, where that aſſembly met, ſometimes *Cook*, and ſometimes another preſiding there, for a ſtrict enquiring into, and no leſs ſevere puniſhment of thoſe who were the beginners of the *Rebellion*. No man was pardoned, who had dipt his Hands in the Blood of the *Engliſh*. But of that ſort of Men, all *Ireland* could not furniſh above two hundred, ſo great a havock had either the Sword or Plague made, or elſe the reſt mingling with thoſe who departed the Ringdom, under that diſguiſe ſeaſonably withdrew; or at leaſt there were not *Engliſh* enough left to be Witneſſes of their Barbarity.

The firſt Authors of the Rebellion are brought to Tryal;

But it will not be amiſs to mention one, or two of the moſt obſtinate Rebells; ſuch as *Philem Oneal*, by the *Pope*, created Earl of *Ulſter*, and *Luke O-Tool*. Lying Fame had ſpread it abroad, that *Charles* the Firſt had granted thoſe two liberty to ſtir up the Rebellion, that he might cut out work for the *Parliament*, that then was bent upon Sedition. This baſe and falſe Rumour was induſtriouſly fomented by the *Parliamentarians*, that they might load the beſt of Kings with Envy; nor indeed did the *Iriſh* at that time endeavour to falſifie the Report: of this both of them are accuſed: but though they had hopes given them of Life and Reward, if they would confeſs, yet, with ſolemn Imprecations, both of them acquitted the *King*; and by the juſt Judgment of God, though by the hands of unjuſt Men, they payed the juſt reward of *Rebellion* and *Murder* with their Lives, and were

Eſpecially Phi. Oneal, *and* Luke-O-Tool,

Who at their death acquitted the King from a falſe and ſcandalous report.

were Hanged. So *sure is Justice, though sometimes she be slow in pursuing Malefactors.*

The Plague rages in Ireland,

About that time the Plague raged all over *Ireland*, as if Humane Vengeance were not sufficient to chastise the madness of that Nation, without the concurrence of the Divine. This was the grievous Sickness of any that for fifty years backwards, had plagued that whole Nation; so that (which is strange) there was but one House free in all *Dublin*. And that they might suffer under a double Pestilence, the profane People, laying aside all sense of Shame, became more Lewd and Licentious both towards God and Man; just as in the time of *Thucydides*, when the Laws of God and Man were equally despised.

Especially at Dublin:

And a grievous Famine also.

Not long before, if not about the same time, so great a scarcity and Famine was sent upon them from above, that, with horrour, I mention it, the starved Mothers Sacrificed to their Bellies the dear Fruit of their Wombs; nor (as it is written of *Saguntum*) could inexorable hunger be satisfied with less than humane Flesh.

Both English *and* Irish *are burdened with Taxes.*

Now though these Evils fell heaviest upon the *Irish*, yet it is not to be omitted, that a most heavy Tax, of six and thirty thousand pounds *per Month*, was imposed equally upon the *English* and *Irish*; and that upon the *Irish* too, when so many Lands and Estates lay desolate without Possessours, and when there were neither Men nor Cattle to labour the Land; especially by reason of the multitude of *Tories*, who every where carried away the Fruits and Corn, so that some Landlords being disappointed of the hopes of their Crops, betook themselves to flight; others complained that their Crops were not sufficient to furnish them with Bread, and other necessaries

neceſſaries for their Families; and not a few ſold their Inheritances for two or three years purchaſe. In the mean time the idle Souldiers, to the number of twenty thouſand, and the moſt of them *Anabaptiſts*, alone live plentifully upon the Money they got in *Ireland*, and the Pay they received in *England*, and their Commanders heaped up Eſtates.

The Souldiers in the mean time live at their eaſe, and the Commanders grow rich.

All Law being adminiſtred at the pleaſure of four or five Judges, was in a manner Arbitrary; and depended upon the Wills of the *Commiſſioners*, and *chief Commanders* of the Army; nay, and ſometimes of the Souldiers, eſpecially the *Anabaptiſts*, againſt whoſe Judgment, if the Court at any time pronounced, they cry out of the breach of Faith, and the violation of the Laws of God and Man.

All Law in a manner Arbitrary.

About that time the *Rebels* ſurpriſed two or three very ſtrong Forts, near *Galloway*, *Eniſbuffen*, *Erneſcrought*, and *Arran*, which were ſcituate in ſome of the numerous Iſlands on that Coaſt. But *Reynolds* having conveyed over fifteen hundred Men upon Planks, reduced them to his Obedience, giving the men liberty to remove to other places.

Some Forts ſurpriſed by the Rebells, are recovered by Reynolds.

At length they came to the diviſion and diſtribution of the Lands and Poſſeſſions of the *Iriſh*, That all might receive their ſhares, which either they had gained in the Wars, or by Moneys ſubſcribed and payed in the year 1642, for ſuppreſſing the Rebellion, they had purchaſed upon the *publick Faith*. But upon the firſt publication many are accuſed of the ſame Crime; as the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lord *Inchiqueen*, and as many as had been for the King, and had put a ſtop to the impetuous torrent of the firſt *Rebellion*: And tho whatever was remaining in *Ireland*,

The diſtribution of the Iriſh *Lands, as a puniſhment for their Rebellion.*

Many of the Kings Party fall under the ſame cenſure.

Ireland, was due to their Faithfulness and Valour, yet they stick in the same Mire, and are made liable to the forfeiture of their Lives and Fortunes: nor were any to be spared, who enjoy'd plentiful Estates, or had enough to stay the voracious Appetites of those insatiable *Harpies*. Nay, if they could find out any one that for the space of a day, had fallen off from the Obedience of the *Rump-Parliament*, he came off very well, if he was but only sequestrated; and redeemed his Sequestration at two years purchase of his Estate.

The Popish Nobles *are condemned of Treason.*

All the Popish Nobles, who had, either in the beginning been Rebels, or afterwards born Arms for the King, are condemned of High Treason, their Estates forfeited, and their Lives also, if they could be apprehended, Both the *English* and the *Irish Papists*, who had been Neutro, and favoured neither side, are Fined in the fifth part of their Estates to be Levied into the Exchequer.

The Neutrals are fined in a fifth part of their Estates.

Strife betwixt the new and old Souldiers about dividing the Spoil.

But for easing of the Publick Charges, there was a heavy dispute betwixt the new Souldiers, that came lately over into *Ireland*, under the Command of *Cromwell*, and the *Veterans*, who had served the *Parliament*, in suppressing the Rebellion in its first rise. These the new Souldiers endeavoured by all means to have disbanded, as being for the most part *Anabaptists*, and *Sectarians*; and, indeed, their Intention was to cheat them of their pay, and promised dividend of Lands. But the ancient Souldiers refusing to be so dismissed, after much jangling and debate, at length they agreed Friendly upon these Articles; to wit, *that being disbanded, they should monthly receive half pay, untill the distribution of the Lands should be made, and that they should*

Is at length composed,

enjoy

enjoy their due proportion of the ſame. With this they were pleaſed, and had it in a great part performed.

They had often laboured hard about the dividing and appropriating of the *Iriſh* Lands: Mathematicians met, and laying their Heads together made Diviſions; but in a rude manner only, by a general Eſtimate, ſome by the view, others by meaſuring. But neither way could they find half enough to ſatisfie the Creditors, till they came to *William Petty*, a *Doctor of Phyſick*, but a moſt expert Geometrician, who is now, by the bounty of the *King*, Knighted. He undertook, in the ſpace of thirteen Months, to meaſure all *Ireland*, (in reſpect of forfeited Lands) Geometrically, and to allow every one their ſeveral Portions: and, indeed, performed it. For having got ſeveral expert Artiſts for making his Inſtruments, he divided the work of Surveying into five or ſix parts, aſſigning each part fit and proper Inſtruments: and taught ingenious Men how they ſhould ſet about their ſeveral Provinces; whilſt he himſelf ſitting at home could, upon their reports, calculate and compare the whole. By this means he meaſured five millions, or more, of *Engliſh* Acres; and by the help of a Chain, and other Inſtruments, he ran over an hundred thouſand Miles, five times the circumference of the World. So is all *Ireland* divided into parts, and every one has his ſhare by lot.

The way of meaſuring the Lands invented by Sir William Petty, *a Doctor of Phyſick.*

Now do the Sectarian *Vultures*, from all parts, come flocking to the rich Spoiles of *Ireland*, as to a fat Carcaſs, and, like Locuſts, devour all the Provinces; of which, *Cromwell* having had notice, leaſt ſuch a confluence of People, might occaſion Sedition, eſpecially ſeeing he perceiv-

The Sectarians flocking together in Troops.

ed

ed the *Anabaptists* and *Sectarians* always skrewing themselves into profitable places, both Civil and Military, who being for the most part *Democratical*, would not fail to oppose that Sublimity and Pre-eminence, to which he aspired, that he might crush the Serpent in the Egg, and baffle their Power, as if he minded other Affairs; he recalls from *Ireland* his Son in Law, *Fleetwood*, upon pretext of using his Council at home, but in reality, that he might have an eye over the designs and motions of the Man, and by taking off the Head and Patron, disappoint the Practices and Councils of the *Democraticks*.

Cromwell *calls home* Fleetwood *from* Ireland,

As being too favourable to them:

And sends his Son Henry *at first as his Substitute,*

Therefore, in place of *Fleetwood*, he sends *Henry*, the younger of his two Sons, into *Ireland*, but not as his *Successour*, only with the Title of a Commissioner, and *Major General* of the Army: And having for two years space made a tryal of his Juvenile Prudence, he raised him to a higher degree. *Henry* took it ill at first, to be denied the Honour of a Title, when he had the Power given him; and being instigated by the whisperings of Flatterers, he desired of his Father, that he might Govern *Ireland* with the Name of *Deputy*. But *Cromwell*, not without a check, denying it, that unseasonable Ambition was stifled in the bud. But whil'st he alone sat at the Helm, two other Commissioners, or rather Privy-Counsellors, *Hammond* and *Goodwin* are added.

Who in the first place takes upon him the care of Religion,

He made it his chief business, in the first place, to restore the *Worship* of God, tho not to its ancient Beauty, yet to some better Order; by degrees giving back the Churches and Pulpits, which were wholly possessed by the *Anabaptists*, to the Ministers. Nay, he caused

his

his own Child to be publickly Baptized in the Cathedral Church, a rare thing at that time, and made a Christening Feast. And farther, he protected the Preachers from all Affronts, and the troublesome interruptions of the *Sectaries*, in time of Divine Service. Now does the Colledge of *Dublin*, which had been long neglected, raise its head out of Obscurity. *Henry* himself being chosen the *Chancellour*, or Patron thereof; nay, School-Exercises, (but after the Presbyterian way) and Degrees in Arts and Professions are instituted: and which was most acceptable to the Scholars, at his own Charges he bought the Library of *Usher*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, not to be named but with Honour, and made a present of it to the Colledge.

Of the Preachers,

And of the Colledge.

Nor was he less careful of the *Civil*, than Ecclesiastical affairs; for Justice in the Courts began now to shew it self, as much as it could under a Tyrannical and Violent Government. Stately Houses were built in the Cities, and the Country abounded in Pasture and Corn. Trade began also to flourish, in exporting to all places Tallow, Hides, Salt-Flesh and Fish, and Ambergrise. *Henry* moreover allowed a free access to all, and liberty of petitioning; nay, and illustrated his Bounty with some kind beams towards the Royalists, by easing those who had been forfeited and sequestrated, remitting one half of the Money, that had been imposed upon them, giving gracious words; liberty of playing with him, and many times admitting them to his Table.

As also of Civil affairs of Justice,

And Trade;

The Royalists being received more mildly.

Steel, at the Sollicitation of *Fleetwood*, is made Chancellour of *Ireland*, which rouzed a little the drooping Minds of the *Sectaries*; but which was soon dashed, by the advancement of

His Assistants and Counsellers.

Berry

Berry to the place of Baron of the *Exchequer*, and of *Pepis* to that of Lord Chief Justice, who both stuck close to *Henry*. In Council he made use of *Broghill*, *Coot*, and *Hill*, and of the same, with *Morgan* and some others in the Army, governing the Common-wealth very well, according to the present state of Affairs.

Cromwell calls a Parliament at London.

About that time a Parliament is called at *London*, to consist of Members of the three Kingdoms, thirty being nominated for *Ireland*. In it the *Irish Papists* accused of Treason, are declared Rebels, and therefore their Estates and Inheritances are forfeited; for discovering of whom, a strict Oath of Abjuration of *Popery* is imposed upon all suspected Persons; in the execution whereof, *Henry* shewed himself merciful, and very seldom put any to that Tryal. But the division and distribution of the Lands, which was heretofore appointed and begun, is now brought to an issue.

The Irish *are commanded to Abjure Popery.*

Henry's clemency, as to that particular.

The Irish *are enjoyned to transplant themselves into* Connaght,

The transplanting of all the *Irish* into *Connaght*, is again brought upon the Stage, being the invention of one *Spencer*, who, by way of Dialogue, wrote of the affairs of *Ireland*, and afterwards insisted upon by *Ireton*, who by all means commended the practice thereof. Now are all commanded to pack up bag and baggage, change their Habitation, and to remove into that Province, where Lands were to be assigned to them in Inheritance, according to the pleasure of *Commissioners*; the Forts, Cities, Towns, and Passages, being only reserved for the use of the *English*, with all the Sea-coast within a Mile of the Sea. For that Province being for the most part surrounded by the River *Shannon*, vast Lakes, and the *Collough* Mountains, and so divided from the rest, cut off from them all hopes

And what was the cause of it:

hopes and power of rising any more againſt the *Engliſh*. None are ſpared but the labouring men, and ſome whom favour and popular neceſſity procured a permiſſion to ſtay. If *Ireton* had lived to theſe times, he would have made it abſolutely neceſſary to have brought over Husband-men, and Trades-People from *England*, who are payed much dearer for their work and labour than the *Iriſh* are.

Yet it is by many cunningly evaded.

But, Good God! How many cunning Tricks, frauds and inventions did the *Iriſh* find out for avoiding the ſting of that Order? So that it reached none but the ſimpler and honeſter ſort of People. Nay I am aſhamed to divulge the horrid oppreſſion and covetouſneſs of our Factors; who when they met with the more innocent and plain, they impoſe upon them with tricks and juggling, and ſo tire them out until they got their Lands from them for little or nothing, which they ſell dear unto others; and the ſuſpicion of a ſudden inſurrection again amongſt the *Iriſh*, becauſe they parted ſo eaſily with their Inheritances, is laid at their door as a ruine.

We purpoſely paſs by matters of leſs importance, leaſt what we are about by the by ſhould ſwell up to too vaſt a bulk. The Officers of the Army what by craft, and what by force turning *Richard* out of the Supream Power; and the *Rump-Parliament* after five years interment being raiſed again from the dead, the eyes of all are fixed upon *Henry*. It was thought by ſome that he would defend his own Authority, and vindicate that of his Brother. Others hoped that he would favour the *Royal* Cauſe, and ſo make his intereſt with the *King*, the *Navy* eſpecially giving no obſcure marks of

Henry *neglecting both his own and brothers intereſt.*

their inclination; and the Army and Kingdom of *Ireland* being ready enough to promote such an Enterprize. Nor dare I swear; that he entertain'd no such Projects. But the Lord *Broghill* and *Coot* deserting him in dubious Affairs; and *Steel* and *Tomlinson* old Commissioners, managing, and *Waller* and *Corbet* new ones, continually solliciting him, he at length resigns himself to the Will and Pleasure of the *Rump-Parliament*, and returns into *England*, there to give an account of his administration.

Delivers up the Government to the revived Rump-Parliament.

Hitherto we have dwelt in *Ireland*, that without interruption, we might give the Reader an account of the Affairs of that *Kingdom*. Now bringing our discourse back to former years, we must return to the *Democratical Republicans*, who after the murder of the King, swayed Affairs in *England*, under the *Olygarchicks*. These being upstarts promoted for the most part men of their own Edition to places of honour and profit. Which the *Londoners* took so ill, that the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* came and petitioned the *Rump-Parliament*, *that the chief Citizens or that some of them at least, might be again admitted into the common Council of the City*. These were about three hundred, whom either age, or wealth at least recommended: But the year before the *Rump-Parliament* had turned a great many of them out, and judged them unworthy of carrying any office in the City; for no other reason, but because they had signed the *Petition* making Peace with the *King*, which the greater and sounder part of the Parliament were also for. But that desire of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, though they seriously alledged the want of ingenious and honest men, of moderate Estates for discharging the offices of the City, is-

A Petition of the Magistrates of London, *to the* Rump-Parliament, *for their Citizens turned out of the common Council.*

is rejected with contempt, nor would they have any but the *Riff Raff* and inconsiderable rable to manage Publick Affairs; as being such who measured good and evil according to the will and pleasure of their Masters. *Is rejected with contempt.*

Whil'st these things are carried on at *London*, *CHARLES the Second* was not asleep, nor did he neglect his Affairs, though the Regicides carried all before them in *England*, but moves every stone, and leaves nothing unessayd, that the wit and power of man could devise or execrate, for resetling the undone Nations, asserting the publick Liberty, and (the *Regicide* being revenged,) recovering his ancient Inheritance. *The attempts of King* Charles *the* Second *for himself and his Subjects.*

He implores the assistance of Foreign *Kings* and *Princes*; who are all equally concerned according to the Supream Power they have received from God, and their common duty, to give Sanctuary to the oppressed; but especially to Kings, whom above all men living they ought to protect, not only upon the account of Kindred and *Cognation*, but also for fear of *Contagion*, least the horrid example of *Rebellion* might have an influence upon their own Subjects; that if perchance, they should be reduced to the like streights, they might likewise obtain the like help and assistance. *By asking help from Foreign Princes.*

He sends Ambassadours to the *Emperour* and *German Princes*, to the *Grand Signior*, the great Duke of *Moscovie*, the Kings of *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, to the republick of *Venice* and the States General of the *united Provinces*. He sends into *Spain*, from whence he had the greatest expectation, the Lord *Edward Hide*, who had formerly been Lord cheif *Baron* of the *Exchequer* and was afterwards Lord *Chancellor* *By several Ambassadours, especially of the* Spaniard *by* Hide *afterwards Chancellour of* England *and Earl of* Clarendon.

and Earl of *Clarendon*, whose Juvenile and vegete wit, might put life into the aged head of *Clarington*. In *France*, besides a particular Ambassadour, the *Queen* Mother and Duke of *York* were there, and the King himself to solicite his own affairs.

And the French in person,

But with little success every where,

But alas! almost every where unsuccessfully the distance of place hindering the aid of some, and either the want of money, domestick seditions, or dangers from neigbours, obstructing the assistances of others. None are touched with the sence or pity of the Calamities of another. The Ottoman Court dealt barbarously, in that for a little money, they delivered up the Ambassadour, *Henry Hide* a most accomplished Gentleman into the hands of the *Rump-Parliament*, who being brought over into *England*, for his unshaken Loyalty, without any pretext of ancient Law, he was beheaded before the *Royal Exchange* in London.

The Turk delivering up the Ambassadour Hide *brother to the Chancelour into the hands of the* Rump-Parliament, *who being brought to* London *is beheaded.*

France with promises, gives hope of large assistance, so long as they could procure any help from the Subjects of the King of *England*; especially from *James Duke of* YORK, who commanding the *English* and *Irish* that served the *French* in *Flanders*, had given many Noble and Illustrious proofs of his Heroick Valour and Courage: Until that *Blake* had beaten the *French* Fleet under the Command of the Duke of *Vendosme* which came to the relief of *Dunkirk* at that time besieged by the *Spaniards*. Then, they sent *Burdeux* to treat of peace at *London*, whilst the *Regicides* expected no less than a declaration of War: And having afterwards entred into a strict allyance; they inwardly rejoyced that the *Kings Majesty* was deluded, and no small stop put to the fury of the *Rebels*.

The French flattering with vain hopes,

And at length making a league with the Regicides.

The

The *Spaniard* seemed to be grieved at the Kings Murder; but excused himself that it did not belong to him to determine about the controversies of *England*, nor did he take pleasure to meddle in other Peoples Affairs out of his own Territories; but that in the mean time he should be ready to do the King all the kindness he could within his Countries. Nevertheless, not long after *Ascham* being killed, (which I shall shortly relate) he was the first King who Commanded his Hedge Ambassadour *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, to Worship the rising sun of the *Common-wealth*, wish the *Parricides* all happiness; intreat the continuance of Friendship and good Correspondence betwixt his *Kingdomes* and the New *Common-wealth*, and promised severely to punish the Wicked Murderers of *Ascham*.

The Spaniard *declining to meddle in other peoples business.*

And being the first of all that owned and complemented the Common-wealth *of* England,

Now there are some not obscure Reasons why the great Mind of so Wise a King, was by so unexpected a change (that rather discovered than altered his Inclinations,) brought over to the contrary side: For besides Ancient and Paternal enmities with Queen *Elizabeth*, *Philip* himself had particular Quarrels against *Charles*. It wounded him deep, that his Sister being courted in Marriage, even so far as to have had an interview and conference with her, she should afterwards be slighted for a Daughter of *France*, though a Princess of extraordinary Worth. Besides the old offence stuck still in his Mind, that our King was the first of all who honourably received a splendid Embassie from the Duke of *Braganza*, and after he had successfully dispatched his business sent him away in triumph. To this may be added the mischance of *Don Oquenda*,

For what Reasons chiefly instigated thereunto.

not many years before, under whoſe Command ſeveral Ships carrying Men and Arms for a recruit to the War of *Flanders*, being forced into the *Engliſh* Harbours by the *Dutch* who purſued them, were under our Caſtles, though then in Peace with *Spain*, ſuffered to be torn, ſunk, and burnt; our Fleet rather threateningly rebuking, then ſtoutly driving off the Enemy. Which diſcontents not expiring with the Murthered King, are hurtful now to his Son. But after all, his new Friends, as a reward of the amity freely offered them, by ſtealth and without any Declaration of War, having ſometimes after invaded the *Weſt Indies*, that is, the very Bowels of the *Spaniſh* Empire: And their attempt upon *Hiſpaniola*, being diſappointed, he at length, laying aſide all hatred, obliged *CHALES* the *Second* by all ſorts of good Offices, and entertaind him in his Territories for the ruine of the *Regicides*.

The King of Portugal *being able to do little,*

The King of *Portugal* ſhewed a generous Soul, (of which hereafter) had his Strength correſponded with his Inclinations. But what would one who hardly as yet ſate ſteddy in his own lately recovered Throne, do for another expulſed Prince? The truth is, though he had then flouriſhed in the quiet enjoyment of his own juſt Rights, he was not Potent enough to undertake ſuch a War; as could reſtore a baniſhed King, and much leſs at that time when he could hardly on the one hand repel the *Spaniard* who offered at all, and on the other, keep even with the *Dutch*, who in the *Eaſt Indies* and all over the Ocean ſtrove for the maſtery.

And Sueden *fickle.*

Suedland at firſt good natured, changed as Affairs altered. *Frederick* Duke of *Holſtein* ſupplied

ſupplied the Earl of *Montroſs*, who was then ready to Sail into *Scotland* with Men, Money, Ships and Arms, for the Service of the King. *Danemark* having its Treaſury exhauſted for the Cauſe of the *King's* Father, and running into a new War, was able to do no more. The Rebellious *Coſſacks*, and Neighbouring Nations who had rendred the Peace uncertain, made the *King* of *Poland* ſparing in his Aſſiſtance. Yet the *Scottiſh* Subjects, who lived in thoſe Countries, as they were commanded gave what help they were able to give. And ſo did the Emperour of *Moſcovie*, Elector of *Brandenbourg*, Arch-Biſhop of *Mentz*, and other Princes of *Germany* ſhow their Affections to the *King*.

The Duke of Holſtein *brought ſome ſuccours. The* Dane *indigent of money. The* Pole *engaged in domeſtick troubles. Others benevolent, but not much to the purpoſe.*

But alas! what was all that to the fitting out of a Fleet, and raiſing of an Army? to the providing of Arms, Ammunition and Neceſſaries of War? perhaps a little more than might defray the Charges of Ambaſſadours, and relieve the Poverty of Courtiers. All the hope was now in the Loyalty and Benevolence of Subjects; who, thongh many of them were wheedled by the Artifices of the *Regicides*, or the fawnings of Proſperity, Ambition of riſing to higher Employments, or the coveteouſneſs of other mens Eſtates, which they hoped might be had for little or nothing, and theſe, becauſe *Juſtice* delay'd to ſtrike, drawn in to the number of above fifty thouſand, yet a far greater number kept their Loyalty and Allegiance to the *King* inviolated. but being ſtun'd with the ſudden horrour of the *Kings* Murder, and amazed at the continual Victories of the *Regicides*, they knew not what to do, or whither to turn themſelves. They

The King's chief hope in his own Subjects;

Of whom a great many extreamly well affected, but very weak in ſtrength.

knew not as yet, what it was to *Associate*, and they had no opportunity of rising; the *Regicides* having a watchful Eye over all the Countries, and their Spies and Emissaries wresting all the Actions and Sayings of Honest men into the worst Sense.

Nevertheless many *Royalists* in disguise crossed the Sea and waited upon the King; and others who came hither from the *King*, were by his Friends informed what to do. All that they could do, was gradually to confer Councils, encourage one another, plot and contrive, gather supplies, and by blowing the Coals, raise such a Flame as might at length destroy the Enemy. Yet some of them, of whom I shall mention two, Sir *Charles Berkly*, and Sir *Henry Slingsby*, were taken by the watchfulness of Informers; but both made their escape; though the last falling again into the Noose, payed for his Loyalty, and lost his Head by Sentence of the High Court of Justice.

Ascham, who he was:

About that time *Ascham*, whom I named a little before, a Fellow of obscure Birth, desiring to show his Gifts and get himself a Name, by writing against the *King*, and for the abominable change of *Government*, which the less it became him to do, for that heretofore (under the *Earl of Northumberland*) he had had the institution of the Young *Duke of Gloucester*, is therefore in quality of Envoy with *Ribera* an *Italian*, as his Interpreter sent into *Spain* to treat of Affairs. But he had got himself so much hatred by his Writings that were published, and the Employment he now undertook, that some conspired a revenge, and suddenly breaking into his Chamber at *Madrid*,

An envoy from the Rump-Parliament *to the King of* Spain,

drid, againſt all Law and Equity killed both him and *Ribera* his Interpreter. The Ambaſſadour of *Venice* gave Sanctuary to one of the Murderers; another being taken making his eſcape, publickly ſuffered for it. The reſt to the number of three took Sanctuary in a *Church* till the Eccleſiaſticks ſhould have time to take cogniſance of the Cauſe. But by delaying of time, and lengthening out the debate, the *Engliſh* alſo infeſting the *Weſt Indies*, they at length get clearly off.

He is privately killed with his Interpreter.

One of the Murderers taken, making his eſcape ſuffers for it.

It is fit we ſhould alſo mention the good Offices of the emulous *King* of *Portugal*, and how for the ſake of our Prince he provoked the *Rebel* Hornets. Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, when they fled from *Ireland*, found Protection at *Lisbon*: But *Blake* Admiral of the Fleet for the *Rump-Parliament* purſuing them hither, deſires leave to fight the Prince's Ships. The King of *Portugal* thinking that the Laws of Hoſpitality were not ſo to be violated, ſeeing it was not ſafe for him openly to refuſe, he ſhifts the matter, and forces not the Princes to put out to Sea. *Blake* being highly offended at this, Cruiſes upon the Coaſt; and at length meeting with a Fleet of ſeaven or eight Sail of Ships laden with Sugers, he takes them and ſends them into *England*. He himſelf, in the mean time having purſued the Princes who had put to Sea again, comes up with them at *Carthagena*, a *Spaniſh* Town in the *Streights*, and in the Bay of *Vera*, forces them aſhoar; but both of them eſcaped in one of their Ships, and ſailing with one or two more Ships to the *Weſt Indies*, they leave *Spain* to be ſufficiently mauled by the *Parliament*.

The King of Portugal *offends the* Regicides, *becauſe he would not force Prince* Rupert *and Prince* Maurice *out of his Harbours, when* Blake *deſired to fight them.* Blake *therefore takes ſome* Portegueſe *Ships laden with Suger, and ſends them into* England. *The Princes hardly eſcaping, ſail to* America.

But a terrible Hurricane which is frequent in

Where Maurice *was unhappily caſt away,*

in the *Torrid Zone*, having ſeparated *Maurice* from his Brother, he was caſt away with his Ship and Men in the dreadful Storm. Here we cannot but ſigh at our Calamities, in the diſmal fate of ſo *Illuſtrious* a *Youth*. Unhappy *Engliſh*, who with blind rage have conſumed the Relicts of the *Palatinat*! and accurſed Broils of *Britain*, that ſhipwrack't that Life which eſcaped the Sword of *Auſtria*! I ſhould give way to lamentations, if our ſhame could add Glory to the Dead, or give comfort to the ſurviving Family. But a Valiant man is not to be by womaniſh houling lamented; neither does true Grief require an ambitious pomp of Words, nor great ſorrow admit it. Let us only then, which is all we can do, with our Tears waſh out the ſtain of our unlucky Age; to which Crime it is no ſmall acceſſion, that the Ocean and other World are alſo polluted with the deſtruction of the *Royal* Family. But Prince *Rupert* (which was ſome comfort) having ſent his Goods into *France*; with much adoe was ſaved.

Rupert *returning back to the Coaſt of* France.

I return to *Portugal*, from whence the ſteam of Sugar attracted an Ambaſſadour to *London*. Now would God the Supreme diſpoſer of all things, ſuffer that ſo remarkable conſtancy of ſo good a *King*, ſhould turn to the dammage of his Subjects. For the Ships being reſtored, the War that was threatened, was upon ſupplication averted, a new League made, and the Peace afterward more religiouſly obſerved. The *Rebels*, indeed, think it below them to make reparation for dammages; yet they make them good by a War they were to engage in with the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, to the great advantage of the *Portugueſe*. I mention

The Portugueſe *Ships are reſtored.*

not

not the Glory of assisting distressed Princes, a rare thing amongst Kings. But after all, he himself has no cause to fear, but that his kindness shew'd to a *King*, heretofore in distress, will, by the same Prince, who never forgets those that have deserved well of him, now raised to the Throne of his Ancestours, and joyned to him in Affinity, be repayed to him and his Subjects with plentiful interest.

Strickland, *the Ambassadour, being slighted in* Holland, *returns home.*

But now we have affairs nearer home, and with the *Dutch* again to consider. *Strickland* having long resided in *Holland*, as Ambassadour, is now slighted; and being allowed no more a place in the Assembly of the *States*, he returns home. But that the *Parricides* might repay one Affront with another, they command *Jacobin Vanodenskirk*, the *Dutch* Ambassadour to depart the Kingdom of *England*, upon pretext that the *King* being dead, the Negotiation with the *States* was now at an end. But soon after, as if they repented what they had done, *Schaepie* is sent to treat of Peace, who, though he was but an Agent, and empowred only by one City, to wit, *Amsterdam*, to treat, yet, by the *Rump-Parliament*, he is honoured with the Title of *Ambassadour*, who take occasion, on the other hand to send two Ambassadours with Royal and Magnificent Equipage, to wit, *Oliver St. Jones*, one of the Members of the *Rump-Parliament*, and Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Walter Strickland*. These have Instructions, *To clap up a Peace, and that by a Coalition of both Nations into one, they might live under the same Government, have the mutual Priviledges of Habitation, Trading and Harbours of each Country indifferently:* But these were not to be divulged, but piece and piece, and by degrees, if they found the

The Dutch *Ambassadour is commanded to depart* England,

To whom another presently succeeds from Amsterdam.

St. Jones *and* Strickland *are sent into* Holland *with great Equipage.*

the People inclineable, and fit to comply with ſuch Propoſitions.

Who nevertheleſs being fooled by the States,

But the *States* had no inclination to ſettle a Peace, until they found the ſucceſs of the affairs in *Scotland*. But after much adoe, having at length given Audience to the Ambaſſadours, they put them off from day to day, till they propoſed, at long run, ſome long winded Articles of Peace, drawn up in the time of *Henry* VII, to be conſidered; which, ſo ſoon as the Ambaſſadours had rejected, they deviſe others to drive away time, until the Ambaſſadours, finding themſelves fooled, might haſten their departure. But, during their ſtay in *Holland*, the *States* were neceſſitated to place a Guard at their Door; nor was that ſufficient to ſecure them from Affronts, but that their Windows were every night broken, or they themſelves diſturbed by I know not what Bug-bears and Apparitions. There was alſo a ſtrong report, that a certain Relation of *St. Jones* came to his Houſe, that, with a Bow-ſtring, he might ſtrangle him after the manner of the *Turks Mutes*, but that becauſe he ſaw no way to eſcape, if he had committed the Fact, he abſtained from attempting it. The Ambaſſadours being ſtartled at theſe things, and daily fearing worſe, and not knowing how long they might ſtay, nor what anſwer bring back, they return without any effect of their Negotiation.

And expoſed to continual dangers;

They return without doing of any thing.

This enraged the Parricides,

But great were the Diſorders that this Affront occaſioned, and ſevere was the Revenge which the *Parricides* hatched in their Hearts; being reſolved, that if the affairs in *Scotland* ſucceeded according to their wiſhes, they would never reſt nor ſheath their Sword, before they had forced by Arms the Conditions, which by

Ambaſſadours

Ambaſſadours they could not obtain. In the mean time they thought it enough at preſent, to give out Letters of *Repriſal*, and by other mens hands, revenge the Injuries done to themſelves; and to make an Act, that no Metchandiſe, of what Country ſoever it were, ſhould be brought into *England*, unleſs imported in *Engliſh* Bottoms by *Engliſh* Sea-men, or fraighted by *Engliſh* Merchants.

And made them give out Letters of Repriſal.

Let us make a trip over to *Sweden*, the *Queen* whereof had lately ſent an Envoy to Compliment and Congratulate the *Regicides*: To her therefore *Whitlock* is ſent in a ſplendid Embaſſie, to return the Honour and Compliment, and alſo to make Peace with her, to which ſhe very willingly conſented. But the *Queen* being ſhortly after removed, or, to uſe a ſofter expellion, having reſigned the Crown, the King of *Sweden* ſends over a Reciprocal, and no leſs Honourable Embaſſy, by the Lord *Chriſtopher Bond*, a Senator of the Kingdom, to *Cromwell*, who then had the chief adminiſtration of the Government.

Whitlock *Sails to* Sweden *with a ſplendid Embaſſy for the Queen.*

Who reſigning the Crown, the King ſends over Bond *Ambaſſadour to* Cromwell.

The Iſles of *Silly* lay very convenient for molelting the Trade of the *Engliſh*. There the *Royaliſts* cruiſing too and again with four or five ſmall Veſſels, did no little hurt to the *Regicides*, and would have done much more, could they have been morgaged to the *Dutch*, as it was commonly reported. For plucking out of this Thorn, great preparations are made at *Plimouth*, not above fifteen Leagues diſtant from the Iſlands. Where *Blake* and *Popham* having provided ſome ſmall Veſſels and Boats, they take the opportunity, and ſet Sail from thence in the night time, with three hundred Souldiers, beſides Sea-men, and having had a fair Wind, next

An expedition for reducing the Iſles of Silly.

next morning they come to the Land. There are in all ten adjacent Islands, divided only by narrow Passages of an Eddy Sea, and on all sides secured by Shelves and Rocks. In three hours time they take *Threscoe* and *Briari*, with the loss of fifteen Men: but of the Garrison, a Boat being sunck, about fourty were drowned, one hundred and twenty made Prisoners, and about fourty Guns taken, which the *Royalists* out of two Friggats, had planted upon the shoar. The raging of the Sea appeasing the Fury of the Souldiers, made for two days time a Cessation, not unlike to a Peace. But on the third day, when it was Calm, they began to thunder on both sides with their great Guns, on the one hand from *Threscoe*, and the other Islands, and on the other, from St. *Mary*'s *Grimsby* Haven, being betwixt them. But the Governour *Greenvill*, now Earl of *Bath*, wanting supplies, at length, upon pretty good Conditions, surrenders the Island.

Of which two, after a conflict of three houres continuance, are taken.

The rest at length surrender upon articles.

Shortly after, that continual Victories might drop into to the lap of the *Rebels*, news was brought from the *Caribbe* Islands, that *Barbadoes*, the richest of them, had delivered it self up into the power of *Aysckew*, according to the example of which the rest would take their measures. He, with eighteen or twenty Sail of Men of War, had steered his Course to the West *Indies*, to reduce those Islands once more under the yoak of *England*; and setting upon them unexpectedly, he took twenty or thirty *Dutch* Ships, who in contempt of two Acts, drove a Trade with them; cruising off and on in sight of the Island, he blocked it up for the space of six Months, and at length, a Sedition arising amongst the Planters, he forced the *Lord Willoughby*,

As also upon Barbadoes, *an Island in* America.

loughby, whom the *King* had made Governour of it, to ſurrender.

Whilſt theſe things are acting in the *Indies*, they erect of new in *England*, a *High Court of Juſtice*, as they were pleaſed to call it, not upon the account of a preſent Emergent; but to continue for ſix Months, which if it could paſs without the envy of Tyranny and Oppreſſion, might be adjourned *de die in diem*. *Keeble* is by the *Rump-Parliament* made Preſident of this Court, being aſſiſted by others, and fifty Aſſeſſors of the popular Faction. Moſt of theſe being Souldiers, were ready at the beck of the General, to ſmite the Priſoner as an Enemy; all the reſt were Creatures of the new Common-wealth, whoſe hopes and whole Eſtates depended upon the favour of the *Parricides*; except, perhaps, one or two, who had more Zeal than Judgment. And this horrid Violence, unheard of under the Government of our Kings paſt in all Ages, is impoſed upon the ignorant multitude, under the ſpecious name of Juſtice. *Theſe Men had Power to bring before them, try and puniſh without appeal, any that had held Correſpondence with the King, Queen, Duke of* York, *the Royaliſts, or* Iriſh, *that had aſſiſted them by Word, or Deed, or received them into their Houſes, or that had delivered up any Caſtle, Town, or Ship, or had attempted any ſuch Surrender*; beſides many other Crimes of the ſame nature. Now if you inquire into the conſtitution of the Court, and whence it derived its Authority, you muſt know, that it was firſt appointed againſt the *Kings Majeſty*, by thoſe who were ſo far from having any Power of adminiſtring Juſtice, that, by our Laws, and Cuſtoms, they had not the Power to condemn the meaneſt Slave; then againſt the *Nobles*;

A high Court of Juſtice is again erected, and that a ſtanding Court.

bles; afterwards as occaſion offered, it was often made uſe of; but now was turned into a cuſtome. If any man was ſuſpected of plotting and contriving againſt the Publick, he was preſently dragged before this ſupreme Tribunal, and expoſed to the Calumnies of pettifogging Lawyers, who for a little Reputation and Profit ſold their Souls in pleading againſt him; who having none to defend his Cauſe, and being terrified or ſhamed out of Countenance, without the Evidence of two Witneſſes, or the Verdict of a Jury of twelve men, (which has onely force in *England*) he is Condemned, and why ſhould not I ſay Murdered?

A lively deſcription of the ſad face of affairs

It was, indeed no ſmall matter of terrour, to ſee a drawn Sword hanging as by an Hair over all mens naked Heads, at every minute ready to fall upon them. About that time eſpecially, and afterward when *Cromwell* had got the chief adminiſtration of the Government, whole ſwarms of informers wandered about in all places, both publick and private, ſacred and prophane. They liſtned in *Churches*, ſneaked into companies in *Taverns* and Alehouſes, and went to wreſtling in the *Rings*. Noblemen and Gentelmens Servants were corrupted, that they might diſcover what their Maſters talked at Table; the chief *Vintners* or their *Drawers* at leaſt were feed, to hearken to the free diſcourſes of their Cuſtomers over their Wine, either in the room or skulking behind the Hangings, or thin partition Walls. Such kind of Spies and eavedroppers, *Hiero* the Tyrant of *Syracuſa* uſed to employ, who were called ἀκροάσεις and ὀτοσκοπίδας, In a word, Priſons were full of accuſers that they might accuſe; ſo that there was no Village free from ſnarlings nor ſnares. The

Informers ſwarm in all places.

Nothing ſecure from Spies.

Cities.

Cities themſelves were filled with ſolitude, ſilence, trembling and fear. All flocked into the Countrey, not for pleaſure or the Society of their Neighbours, but where they could find ſolitude and retreat; where the Barrenneſs and deſertneſs of the place might neither allure Soldiers nor ſecure Informers; where they might neither be known, nor have acquaintance, and where avoiding the company of men, they might have the ſatisfaction of being ſecure, without the pleaſure of the Countrey or company. All Neighbourhood, Society, and intimacy were ſuſpected. Thoſe who where naturally averſe from ill things, yet often deceived, becauſe they had been deceived before. Into ſuch confuſion had the *Rout*, the diſturber of common Peace, put all things. With obſervant eyes do curious Spies run about, and were not idle when they had nothing to do. They tope it ſtoutly that by a gentle rack they may pump out the ſecrets of the heart. They pry into words and actions, but much more into mens looks, the interpreters of the mind. It is their buſineſs to banker about for Rumors, and ſpread reports, to rouze the drooping hopes of the credulous, and to foment them with ſtrange ſtories, which afterwards vaniſhing into ſmoak, they might be cowed and rendered more puſillanimous for the future.

Who had a thouſand tricks to do miſchief.

The *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* who had been of the contrary ſide, are purſued with ſecret whiſpers and calumnies wherever they could be pickt up, onely to vex them; the more moderate are obnoxious to Suſpicions: Thoſe who were found any way to have aſſiſted or correſponded with the *King*, were either forced to bribe luſtily or to ſtand a Tryal. There were

A New set of Trapans come in play,

also a kind of *Duckoys* and *Trapans*, of all men the most accursed, whose chief study was to teaze the more hot-headed and cholerick, and draw them thereby into Capital snares; and when they had thus caught them, inform against them that they might be brought to a Tryal, or oppress them with secret Calumnies. *Colonel Andrews* thus circumvented lost his Head. Nor was the president *Bradshaw* ashamed openly to declare in Court, that by counterfeit Letters he had corresponded with him in the name of the *King*. Thus was the Estate of the Lord *Craven* confiscated; though being no way obnoxious, but for a large Estate which he possessed in *England*, he lived beyond Seas in *Holland*. Whither one *Faulkner* of that Gang, a turn-coat to the Kings Party, being sent, (but for what end I dare not affirm,) laid a snare for him. One single evidence, and he infamous too, was sufficient to the *partial and mercenary Judges*, for the fellow was afterwards for the same deposition convicted of perjury, who having given under his hand contrary to what he had sworn, to the Judges eyes bely'd his venal Tongue. These are the counterfeiters of *Commissions*, of the *King's Signet*, forgers of writings and hands, and the *Cony-catchers* of *Novices*. They of their own accord give men Authority to raise Soldiers, and then turn that Authority to their ruine, Deliver Letters, which they venture to do, though (as they say) upon the Peril of High Treason, and then inform the Soldiers that they might seize the Parties with the Letters, bring them before the new Court, and point blank condemn them to Death. In the mean time there was no accusing of the clandestine authors of the Villany, and far less bringing them to Justice. So that it clearly appeared

Who amongst others, are fatal to Colonel Andrews.

By the craft of these, the Lord Craven *is forfeited.*

And others brought into the danger of their lives.

Whilst the accursed authors are secure,

that

that these were not the crimes of private men, but publickly deliberated, forged in the shop of the Politicians, and committed to the *Myrmidons*, who as *Jackalls* to the Lyons, might make it their business, to hunt out for Crimes, which *the High Court of Justice* might run down.

As being put upon these tricks by the Regicides.

The *Scots* being long uncertain what to do, and divided into divers Factions, at length resolve upon *Monarchical Government*, and proclaiming *CHARLES* the *Second* King. A few who relished a *Republick*, being of the same mind with the *Regicides*, concealed their rancour, not daring to discover themselves, nor resist. But upon what Conditions he should be admitted to the Throne is seriously debated; nor never well agreed upon. Most of the *Highlanders*, firmly maintain that no other Articles are to be demanded of his *Majesty* but the ancient promises which the Laws injoyned at the inauguration of *Kings*. Others, to wit the *Covenanters*, would have him first to subscribe the *Solemn League and Covenant*, give signs of sorrow and repentance for his *Father* and *Mother's sins*; and all banished and turned out of Court who had carried Arms for his Father, or had not as yet taken the Covenant. I mention not the rest; as being but a few, whose minds were either corrupted by Bribes and Pensions from the Regicides,, or were infected with the contagion of their Friends the *Democraticks*; and who urged severer terms, that they might raise new scruples, and cut off all way for the King's admission. At length, the middle party prevailing, *CHARLES the Second* is by Heralds, in all publick Place, proclaimed *King of Scotland, England* and *Ireland*.

The Scots *consent to Monarchy, and that in the person of* Charles *the Second, those that were of a contrary opinion not daring to resist: Yet they disagree about the conditions.*

At length CHARLES *the* Second *is proclaimed King of* Scotland England, *and* Ireland;

And Windram *is sent to the King from the Convention of Estates,*

In the mean while the debate growing long in the *Convention of Estates*, and *Committee of the Kirk*, who were to consider of the matter and to draw it up into Form, they themselves at length resolve to send *Windram*, *Laird of* Libberton, to try the Kings mind; who having delivered him Letters full of sorrow, and regret, for the horrid and unparallelled Murder of his Father, assures him that the *Scots* were ready to obey him, had proclaimed him King and Successour to the Crown, and that upon the following Conditions, they would admit him to the Supreme administration of the Government.

That he might inform him upon what conditions he was to be admitted.

Which were to this purpose.

The Propositions were to this effect. *That the King should subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, and consent by act of Parliament that all his Subjects should take it, confirming all that they had done for that purpose. That he should confirm the acts of the two last Sessions of the Parliament; which condemns Duke* Hamilton's *late engagement and irruption into* England. *That he should recal his Commission to* Montross, *whereby he had Power to raise Souldiers in* Scotland, *or bring them into* Scotland *from abroad. That he would renounce his right of Negative Vote. That he would suffer no Papist about him, and lastly, that he would appoint a place in* Holland, *where Commissioners might wait upon his Majesty, for adjusting of these propositions and of other things that might be previous to his voyage.*

The King having read the Letters writes back to the Scots *by* Fleeming.

These Propositions were made in the Isle of *Jersey*, where the King with many of his Courtiers then was, who, having received the Letters, made *Windram* very welcome; and not long after sent *Sir William Fleeming* to the *Scottish Nobility* and *Committee of the Kirk* with Letters of reciprocal congratulation. At length he writes

to

to them by *Windram. That he was well pleased with their obedience and indignation against the Regicides*, exhorts them, *that they would seriously endeavour the restoring of Peace and Concord; that for that end he should not be wanting in any thing; and bids them for that purpose send Commissioners to* Breda, *with whom he would treat about the re-establishing of Peace.*

Afterwards by the same Windram; *And appoints* Breda *in* Holland *for a Treaty.*

The King being willing to deliberate about these matters more seriously, privately demands the Opinions of his Friends, writing to those whose Affairs hindered them from waiting Personally upon him. But so many Heads, so many Minds; yet the Opinions were divided chiefly into two. *Some perswade him not at all to listen to the* Scots, *there being treachery hid under the specious Cloak of obedience. They represent to him his Father as an Instance of it, who had been long gull'd with fair promises, until he was forced to be severe to his most faithful Subjects; and then afterward was delivered up to the pleasure of the Faction. That they would cloath him with the Name and Title of a King, but keep all the Power and real Authority in their own hands. And that if he offered for the future to resist, and get his neck from under the Yoke, they would deliver him up to the* English *Regicides, or kill him with their own hands. That he would do better to stick by* Montrose, *than by the united Forces of* Scotland, *whom he had found to be faithful and brave in doubtful and difficult times, and magnanimous and fortunate at a pinch; that with his own, and the Forces of his Friends, succours from abroad, and the aid of the* English, Irish, *and* Scots, *he might mount his Throne in spight of all the attempts and endeavours of his Enemies.*

Then deliberates with his Friends.

Of whom some dread all concord with the Scots:

Others again magnified *the Authority of Parliament,*

Others perswade him to listen to the Scots,

liament, *and the Power of the Covenanters, giving it out, that the* English *also who loved Presbytery, secretly favoured the* Scots, *though at present they discovered not themselves; that it would procure him likewise reputation abroad, to be owned King of* Scotland: That the *Queen* also exhorted him to

As the Queen-Mother also did.

make Peace with the *Scots*; who though at first they proposed severe and grievous Conditions of Union, yet his *Majesty* would in progress of time obtain more easie terms, the *Covenanters* by long conversation and frequent Offices being won over to calmer and milder Dispositions; that they consulted their own Interests, under the Veil of Divine Worship and Cloak of Religion, and that by complying with the Times, he would at length find the *Scots* more tractable and submissive to his his Will and Pleasure. Thus the *King* betwixt *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, was for some time at a stand, uncertain to what side to adhere, but resolving to determine himself for the future as occasion did present.

The King acquaints Montross *with the Treaty to be held with the* Scots *at* Breda:

Windram being sent into *Scotland*, the Kings Answer is kindly received, and joyful hopes of concord begin to shine out over the whole Nation. The *Kings Majesty*, in the mean time writes to *Montross*, to whom he had formerly given a Commission to invade *Scotland*, acquainting him with what the *Scots* had done, what answer he had sent to them, and that a Treaty was to be held at *Breda* for settling a Peace: *That he nevertheless should go on in levying Souldiers, that he might with as many men as possibly he could make be ready in* Scotland, *at the time that the* Scots *began their Treaty. For so he doubted not but that they would insist upon easier terms, when they perceived him in a readiness to revenge*

by

by Arms the injuries that might be offered to him. Now his *Majesty* thought it fit to leave *Jersey*, both because he had intelligence that the Rump-Parliament were preparing a Fleet, for invading the Island; and also that all things necessary might be in readiness against the time of the following Treaty.

And presently leaves the Isle of Jersey.

In the mean time the *convention of the Estates* of *Scotland* consult about Proposals, and the chusing of Commissioners to be sent to the King: Where the *Ministers* forgetting all Modesty and Justice, propose Conditions extreamly rigid, difficult and impossible; for qualifying and mitigating which the *Lay-men* bestir themselves; and at length they joyntly agree upon this. That the Commissioners be *the Earls of* Cassils *and* Louthian, *the Lord* Burleigh, *and Laird of* Liberton; *Smith and Jeffreys* to represent the *Laity*; and *Brodie*, *Lawson*, and *Wood*, the *Clergy*. That the Proposals should be these. *That a Proclamation should be issued out, prohibiting all Excommunicated Persons to come to Court. That the King should bind himself by his Royal Promise under Hand and Seal, to take the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms. That he should besides ratifie all Acts of Parliament, whereby the League and Covenant, Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith and Catechism are enjoyned; and that he should use the same in his own Family, and not suffer them to be innovated or abolished by any. Moreover that in all Civil Affairs, he should govern according to the direction of Parliament, and in Ecclesiasticals, according to that of the Assembly of the Kirk.* These Proposals are after a Sermon, were delivered by the *Earl of Cassils* at *Breda*. The King asking

The convention of the Estates of Scotland *chuse Commissioners,*

And agree upon Articles to be sent to the King.

Which, proposed at Breda:

if they had any more to ſay? They anſwer, *Nothing*; and after, if they were obliged by any engagement to be revenged on the Regicides? They anſwer, *By none.*

And preſently after a few more by other Commiſſioners; eſpecially againſt Montroſs.

Whil'ſt his Majeſty was conſulting about theſe, other Commiſſioners come, to wit, *Murrey* and the Earl of *Carnwath*, with ſome few additions to the former Propoſals; as *that His Majeſty would forbid* Montroſs *and his Followers to enter the Kingdom, and by his aſſent confirm the laſt Acts of Parliament.*

The deplorable fate of that Excellent Hero is related;

And now it is time to relate the misfortune of *Montroſs*. He being honoured with the Kings Commiſſion, uſes all his endeavours amongſt the *Sweeds*, *Danes*, *Poles*, *Germans*, and all the *Northern* Nations, that being furniſhed and aſſiſted with Men, Money, Arms and Proviſions, he might paſs over into *Scotland*. And without delay, having for haſte left behind *King* with a Body of Horſe in *Sweden*, who deſigned to follow him; and *Ogilbey* alſo in *Holland* to gather the disbanded Souldiers of the Prince of *Oranges* Army, who miſapplied the Money deſigned for that purpoſe; with fifteen hundred Arms furniſhed by the *Queen* of *Sweden*, fuor Ships, (of which two were caſt away upon the Rocks) and four hundred raw Souldiers raiſed in a hurry, he arrives at the Iſles of *Orkney*; and there having ioyned about a thouſand of the Iſlanders, moſt part Fiſhermen, he ſet Sail and landed at the *Wick* of *Cathneſs*; chearfully reflecting upon what he had done before, and full of hopes, that he ſhould in a ſhort time get together a conſiderable Army, by the concourſe of thoſe who had heretofore been for the *King*.

Who with a ſmall handful of men arrives too ſoon in Scotland.

But, alas! that hope deceived *Montroſs*. The Nation

Nation was now of another mind, being tired out and broken with the Wars, their dangers over, inclinable to Peace; and reſtrained by the ſeverities of the *Covenanters*. The whole Country was in Arms, ſo ſoon as they heard of his arrival. The Parliament happened at that time to be ſitting, and not without the *King*'s Command, and had ſeven or eight thouſand men under the Command of *Leſly*. The *Clans* choſe rather to have a Peace from any Maſters, than an uncertain one, though more favourable; and to enjoy with ſecurity rather an incommodious reſt, than with the danger of Fortune to endeavour a change by ſtirs. Nay many who were even ready to lay down their lives for the King, having now at length capitulated with the Parliament, and promiſed obedience and ſubmiſſion, think they cannot act contrary without a Crime.

He is ſadly diſappointed of his hopes, the Nation being now worn out with troubles, and inclinable to peace.

Nevertheleſs he takes *Dumbeath* Caſtle, with a reſolute mind advances farther; and expecting that the Earl of *Seaforth* would joyn him with two thouſand Men, whom he had raiſed for the King: He haſtens to poſſeſs himſelf of a narrow and difficult paſs, which being taken, would facilitate their Conjunction. But *Straughan* met him upon his march, who was ſent before by *Leſly* with three hundred choice Horſe, that he might watch his motion, beat up his Quarters, withſtand his Progreſs, intercept Men and Proviſions that might be ſent to his Camp, and if a fair occaſion offered, not only Skirmiſh with him, but put it to the hazzard of a Battel. This Man perceiving them to be out of order, weary, and only Foot, in an open and plain Champion, falls ſuddenly in upon them, and tries the fortune of War; and with

He takes Dumbeath.

And haſtens to poſſeſs himſelf of a Paſs. But Straughan *was at hand with three hundred Horſe.*

Who perceiving his opportunity, falls upon him, eaſily routs and puts his men to flight.

with that success, that the Souldiers of the *Isles* at once throwing away both their Arms and Courage, betake themselves to flight.

Montrosse betakes himself to flight, and being spent with three days fasting, confiding in a treacherous man, is brought to Leslie,

The *Germans* in the mean time defending themselves, until getting leave to depart, they sailed over Seas. All the Baggage was taken by *Straughan* and the *Standard*, bearing the Figure of a *Head cut off*, with this Motto, *Judica & vindica causam, Domine*, *Judge and avenge the Cause, O Lord.* *Montrosse* fled, and having changed his Cloaths with a certain *High-lander*, for three or four days he lurked, accompanied only with one Servant, till being weakned and spent with Hunger and Fasting, he trusted himself with the *Laird of Aston*, who, although he had formerly served under him, yet, having changed his Faith with his Fortune, betrayed him to *Leslie* for a reward of two thousand pounds. The Lord *Frenderick*, Colonel *Hurrie*, *Francis Haye* of *Dalgetty*, another *Haye* of *Naughton*, *Sibbald*, *Grey*, *Spotswood*, and others were likewise taken by *Straughan*.

And from thence into the Jaws of his Enemies, and is basely used at Edinburrough:

But *Montrosse* is made a subject of triumph, when he was come within a Mile of *Edinburrough*, is ordered to be bound by the Hangman, in a Chair, and planted backwards in a Cart, that he might be seen of all, the Executioner riding with his Cap on upon the Beast that drew the Cart; and in that posture he is carried to the *Tolbooth*, the publick Prison for Malefactors; many of the Spectators bursting out into Tears, when they reflected upon the changeableness and inconstancy of Fortune.

Next day he is in Parliament accused of hainous Crimes,

Next day he is arraigned at the Bar of the *Parliament*. It is objected against him, *That he had stopt the Kings Ears to the Parliament, and to the rest of his Subjects, who gave him good Counsel*;

That

That he had brought over the Iriſh *Rebels to make War in the very heart of the Kingdom: That he had heretofore ſlain ſome of the Parliamentarians; That he had committed many Spoils, Depopulations, and Devaſtations, in the Lands of the Marqueſs of* Argile; *That he had ill treated ſome Miniſters upon his firſt coming into* Scotland; *That upon his ſecond landing in* Scotland, *he had brought foreign Souldiers with him, and that without Commiſſion, for what was known to others; That he had been ill affected towards all Covenanters, and that he had baſely broken the League and Covenant, which he had ſolemnly taken and Sworn.* Theſe were the Crimes that were laid to his Charge. But he foreſeeing that a defence would not ſtand him in any ſtead, anſwers in ſhort and general terms; *That it was very well known he had made the Invaſion by Commiſſion from the King; that he had never acted any thing, which was not approved by the Kings Command, and his own Conſcience; that by the League and Covenant he was bound to obey the Kings Majeſty as well as the Commons.* He was only brought twice before the Parliament, and a third time to receive Sentence, pronounced by *Chancellour Loudon*, with all maginable bitterneſs and Contempt, which he undauntedly, and without the leaſt Sign of Conſternation, heard given againſt him in theſe Words.

Which he ſhortly anſwered and refuted.

Nevertheleſs he is Condemned by Chancellour Loudon, *to ſuffer in a moſt horrid manner.*

That next day, the one and twentieth of March, *one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty, he ſhould be hanged on a Gibbet at the Croſs in* Edinburrough, *until he died, his Hiſtory and Declaration being tied about his neck, and to hang three hours in publick view of all the People, after which he ſhould be beheaded and quartered, his Head to be fix'd upon* the Talbooth of *Edinburrough, and his Legs and Arms over the Gates of the Cities,* Sterling, Glaſcow,

cow, Dundee, *and* Aberdeen: *And in case he repented (whereby the Sentence of Excommunication may be taken off by the Kirk) the bulk of his Body should be buried in the* Gray Friers, *if not, in the* Burrough Moor (a place like *TYBURN*). Nothing did his Blood descended from the Race of the ancient *Nobility*, nor his Heroick Virtues, avail him; nor could the Clemency that he had us'd towards the Vanquished, nor the Kings Commission, whereby he had undertaken the War, procure him any Favour. Neither, indeed, did he desire any Favour, but with a brave and undaunted Mind, told them, *That he thought it no less honourable to have his Head put upon the* Tolbooth, *than to have his Picture hang in the Kings Bed-Chamber: wishing that he had Flesh and Parts enough to be set up in all places, as a monument of his unshaken Loyalty to the King.* He piously and couragiously suffered the publick shame he was put to, with so much Force in answering the Ministers, such sincerity in speaking to the People, and so much Zeal and Fervour in his Devotions, that he made the Ministers ashamed, cleared his Innocence to the People, and gave a proof of his Piety towards God. None of the Spectatours could refrain from Tears; unless it was the Lady *Lorn*, who could not forbear laughing; but her Note and Carriage was changed, when she might have seen the Head of her Father-in-Law, *Argile*, cut off in the same place, as it happened not many years after. Three or four Gentlemen more, who could give any hopes of retrieving the *Kings* Affairs, that were now sinking in *Scotland*, were overwhelmed in the same ruin, and publickly put to death.

Next day he suffered a barbarous and inhumane death.

The

The news of this horrid Cruelty no ſooner came to the *Kings* Ears, but, afflicted with extream Sorrow, he ſent for *Murrey*, and told him, that he was grieved at the Heart, that during the very *Treaty*, when he thought the minds of all to be diſpoſed to Peace, the Parliament had polluted themſelves with the Blood of his beſt Subjects; demanding an account of the whole Tragedy, and of the Blood that was ſpilt. Yet he judged it moſt convenient, not to give way to his juſt Anger, but rather to moderate and reſtrain his Indignation, no hopes being now left him him, but what depended on the *Scots*.

The King was extreamly grieved at this misfortune, and expoſtulates with Murrey.

Yet he conceals his Anger.

The *Scots* make anſwer, *That they ſtill perſiſt in the ſame Mind and Loyalty towards his Majeſty. That they gladly heard that there were hopes of reſtoring Peace: That he ſhould not be moved with Obſtacles that, at firſt hearing, were grievous: That nothing had been acted in the caſe of* Montroſs, *that the King himſelf could repent of, or that did not conſiſt with Reaſon and Juſtice.* This Anſwer paſt by Plurality of Votes in Parliament, though two and thirty *Republicans* oppoſed it. *That he ſhould haſten his Voyage into* Scotland: *That they were ready with all their Might and Force to ſtand by and defend him againſt his Enemies; tho they had intercepted Letters written to* Montroſs, *which they choſe rather to bury in Oblivion, than mention.*

The Scots *labour to ſoften and appeaſe the King,*

At length, the *King*, by the advice of *William, Prince of Orange*, and others, conſents to the Articles of the *Scots*, with ſome little Qualification and Reſtriction; and bidding farewel to moſt of his Faithful Domeſtick Servants, and to the *Church-men*, his Chaplains, whoſe company he thought would not be acceptable to the

Who at length conſents to their Articles,

Scots,

And together with the Commissioners, the in different Ships, he puts out to Sea; by whom he is on Board plied with new Proposals, about the Solemn League and Covenant.

Scots, he, with the *Commissioners*, but in different Ships, set Sail from *Schevling* in *Holland*, directing his Course towards the River of *Spey*. But by that time they were a little out at Sea, the *Commissioners* came to the *King*, having, as they said, received new Instructions, and intreat him that he would Subscribe and Confirm *the Solemn League and Covenant*, according to the Commands they had received from the *Parliament*. For he had signed the National *Covenant* already, and promised not to be against this; he had allowed it also to be imposed upon all others; and told them, that if he might give his Reasons personally to the Parliament, why he could not subscribe it, he would comply. This so stuck with the King, and vexed him so much, that he was about to have changed his Course, and sailed back again to *Holland*. But being prevailed upon, he at length subscribed; and that no place of doubting might be left, five or six are called to subscribe as witnesses to the Act and Deed. No sooner was this Evil over, but he fell into danger by continual storms, and *English* Frigats, that lay in wait for him, of all things most to be feared. For those that looked from Land, believed those Frigats to have been up with the Kings Ships, though indeed they saw not one another by *reason of a Cloud* that interposed. And so after so many dangers, under the protection of Almighty God, they all safely arrived in the *Spey*.

Which with reluctancy he subscribes in presence of Witnesses,

And at length, after many dangers, arrives in the Spey;

The People were not a little gladded by the Kings Landing in *Scotland*, testifying their Joys with Shouts, and Acclamations and Bonefires. But the *Commissioners*, that with shew of greater Honour they might conduct him to *Edinburrough*,

With the general applause of the People.

put

put back those, that in sense of Duty came to salute and honour him, and beat off others with Fists and Sticks, that more importunately approached. He was splendidly entertained by the Magistrates of *Aberdeen*, who, for a pledge of their Love, presented him with fifteen hundred Marks, which he distributed amongst his indigent, and almost famished Servants. And that occasioned a Proclamation for securing their Money, *That such as thought fit to bestow any thing for the interest of the King, it should only be brought into the publick Treasury.* The Magistrates of *Dundee* entertained him likewise magnificently, saving that a Member of *Montross* was to be seen upon a Poll, on the top of the *Town Hall*, and that the *Estates* urged him to sign new Articles. Afterwards he came to *Edinburrough*, amidst the reiterated and joyful Acclamations of all the People, and is again by the Heralds proclaimed King of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*.

He is splendidly entertained at Aberdeen;

And at Dundee *also.*

And when he came to Edinburrough, *he was solemnly proclaimed King of* Scotland, England, *and* Ireland. *There he is managed at the pleasure of Commissioners, and continually vexed by the Ministers.*

The *King's Majesty* is managed according to the pleasure of some *Commissioners*; access is allowed to such as they thought fit, all others being kept back. His Guard is Commanded by the *Lord Lorn*, Son to the *Marquess of Argile*, by whom all the avenues are observed, that no man might envy that splendid custody. In the mean time the *Presbyterian* Ministers, talk of nothing but Crimes; now inveighing against the Sins of his *Father*, and by and by again, against the Idolatry and Heresie of his Mother, and the obstinacy of both, towards the Reformation, the Government and Church of *Christ*: They never rest telling him of Wars, Slaughter, Bloodshed, of his Education and living amongst Bishops, Men of no Religion, and that in a saucy manner, without the least sense

sense of reverence or shame. Labouring to make him a *new Creature*, by lessons of Repentance and Humility, severe rebukes and admonitions, that he might carry his Cross, before he put on his Crown, and mount by the Valley of *Bacha*, to the Throne of *regal Authority*. And all these things they so absurdly and clownishly set about, that their Doctrins and Instructions were more apt to make him nauseate and eternally hate their ways, than to gain him to a liking or assent to their Opinions. The King one evening walking in the Garden, a couple of dapper *Covenant Levites* making up to him, and very severely chid him for profaning the *Lords Day* by a Walk; though he had heard two Sermons, and been publickly at Morning and Evening Prayers that day, besides other private Meditations that he was much given to. The *Laity* also instead of a Crown of Gold shining with Jewels, which they bragg'd they would Crown him with, the precious Stones being secretly and by degrees pick'd out of it, give him one of Feathers, such as *Demetrius* truly said, no man in his senses would stoop and take up from the ground, by allowing him his Robes, the Name of *Majesty*, and Ensigns of a *King*, with the troubles and difficulties of doing Justice, (though that also must be administred after their way;) whilst they invaded and reserved to themselves, the substantial Prerogatives of making Laws, and Peace, and War.

By the Laicks *also almost divested of his Royal Power.*

But these things could not be so kept up from the *Regicides* (though the Parliaments claw'd one another with mutual signs of good-will, by Conferences and Messengers, at least no Hostility as yet appears) but that by their

The Regicides *informed of all that past, look to themselves.*

their Friends and Emiſſaries in *Holland* and *Scotland*, who were well paid for their pains, they were informed of the whole ſeries of the pacification. And therefore they conſult how they might provide before hand, againſt a ſtorm that haug over their heads. There was an Army in readineſs under the Command of *Fairfax*; but that General was not very prone to enter into a War with the *Scots*; who had not as yet provoked the *Engliſh* by any injuries; they ſuſpected him rather to have a kindneſs for that Nation; and to be inwardly diſpleaſed at the Murder of the *King*, and ſubverſion of the Government. They therefore recal *Cromwell* out of *Ireland*, to give him the charge of the *Scottiſh* War. He quickly returning home Crowned with Victories and Succeſs, in a triumphant manner entred *London* amidſt a crowd of Attendants, Friends, Citizens, and Members of the *Rump-Parliament*, Guarded by a Troop of Horſe and a Regiment of Foot, and amongſt them *Fairfax* himſelf, went out two miles to meet him, and congratulate his Arrival. But when they were come to *Tyburn*, the place of publick Execution, where a great croud of ſpectators were gathered together, a certain flatterer pointing with his finger to the Multitude; *Good God!* Sir, (ſaid he) *what a number of People come to welcome you home?* He ſmiling, made anſwer, *But how many more do you think, would flock together to ſee me hanged, if that ſhould happen?* There was nothing more unlikely at that time; and yet there was a preſage in theſe words, which he often repeated and uſed in diſcourſe.

Therefore paſſing by Fairfax, who favoured the Scots,

Cromwell *is recalled from* Ireland, *who with much ſolemnity and applauſe returns to* London:

The *Regicides* and he having conſulted, it

Is thought fit to eaſe the Lord *Fairfax* of the burden; and *Cromwell* is declared *Captain General* of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; who undertakes the War againſt the *Scots*, having ordered Souldiers and Proviſions to be ſent towards *Berwick*. The *Scots* inſtantly ſend Letters to the *Rump-Parliament*, *Cromwell*, and *Haſelrigg* Governour of *New-Caſtle*, wherein they complain *that the Rump-Parliament deſign an Invaſion of their Country, and that contrary to the Union agreed upon betwixt both Nations, and the publick Faith mutually given, no War being denounced, the Cauſe not publiſhed, nor their Anſwers expected, without giving them time to repent, if they had offended in any thing.* But that the Scene might be continued, The *Engliſh* Officers give an Anſwer, The ſumm of which, that the *Genius* of theſe times may the better appear to Poſterity, I ſhall here ſhortly relate. And after a Preface, it was to this purpoſe.

And is preſently declared Captain General of the Forces in place of Fairfax, *for an immediate Invaſion of* Scotland.

The Scots *ſend Dehortatory Letters;*

To which the Engliſh *officers anſwer.*

We are blamed for the Murder of the King, for which we are bound rather to give God thanks, and applaud the Parliament, ſince the King was guilty of more bloodſhed than the cruelty of all his Predeceſſours; an obſtinate Enemy of Reformation, and of all good men; who beſides taught his Son to follow his footſteps: Him the ſounder part of the People, (the timorous and bad Members being ſecluded) juſtly put to death, God Almighty ſhow'd them the way at firſt, approving it by wonderful ſucceſſes and continual benedictions. What is on the other hand objected, that the Treaty, the Law of Arms, and the League and Covenant are violated, by a War made before it be denounced, but the Treaty is already abrogated by Hamilton, *at the Command of his own Parliament; unleſs it be thought that the*

Engliſh

Engliſh *only are bound by the Religion of Treaties and Agreements, but the* Scots *not at all. Let them pretend their League and Covenant; but withal, let them conſider that therein Religion and the Liberty of the Subject is in the firſt place to be ſecured, and that the honour and defence of the King is deſigned but in the ſecond place, and in order to the former; ſince therefore theſe two thwart one another, it is but juſt that that which is laſt, and more ignoble be diſpenced with. As to what concerns the eſtabliſhment of Presbytery, it was not certainly the intention of the Covenant, by force of Arms, to impoſe it upon people whether they would or not, unleſs it could be made out by Holy Scripture, and Arguments of ſound reaſon; to which they themſelves were ready to ſubſcribe.* Afterwards *they profeſs in the Name of God, and with bowels full of love and compaſſion, That it would be their greateſt joy, if without Arms they might obtain ſatisfaction and ſecurity.* This they cauſe to be diſperſed among the *Scots* that came to Market to *Berwick*, thereby to wheedle them, and create a good Opinion of themſelves, and ſtir up Factions among the People.

Cromwell alſo gives the *Scots* ſweet words; having publiſhed a Declaration, and cauſed it by his Agents to be diſperſed through *Scotland*: Wherein *he bids the honeſt Inhabitants, through whoſe Countries the Army was to march, to be of good courage; he having no quarrel with them; and not to depart from their Houſes; it being his intention to do injury to no man, but rather to protect all.* He moreover puts them in mind *of the modeſty and good diſcipline of the Souldiers, whereof they themſelves were eye witneſſes, when he purſued Duke* Hamilton's *men into the heart of the Kingdom*, telling them *that from what was paſt, they ſhould*

Cromwell *alſo wheadles the common people of* Scotland *with ſweet words.*

make a Judgment of what was to come. That he took to heart all the concerns of good men; and that now he drew his Sword against the Authors of wrongs, who had lately polluted both England *and* Scotland *with Blood and Slaughter, and who would involve them into new Miseries, having admitted into their bosom the King, an open favourer of wickedness.*

But in vain, seeing all fled, leaving no victuals behind them.

But he sings to the deaf, they being now sufficiently acquainted with his tricks and fallacies: For the Inhabitants flying with what Goods they could carry with them, betook themselves to places of more security; nor was there a bit of Victuals to be found in that Country, but what was brought in the Ships that waited upon the Coast.

Cromwell *having entered* Scotland,

About the end of *June*, one thousand six hundred and fifty, after four days march in the Enemies Country, he came to *Musselbrough*, within a few miles of *Edenborrough*, with five thousand five hundred Horse, eleven thousand Foot, sixteen field pieces, and all sorts of warlike Provisions.

The Scots *encamp betwixt* Leeth *and* Edenburrough.

In the mean time the *Scots* were not idle; but having levied an Army under the Command of Old *Leslie*, with much expedition, part of the Forces were encamped and strongly entrenched betwixt *Leeth* and *Edenburrough*. To whose assistance flocked daily Souldiers raised in all parts, who had taken the *Covenant*, and neither served under *Montross* nor *Hamilton*. No respect in the mean time was had to the *King*, who was left at St. *Johnston*, upon pretext, that he had not spent time enough in Prayers and the Works of Mortification, for receiving the mold and impression of Presbytery.

Cromwell afterward draws up his Army in Bat-

Battalia, within a mile of the *Scottish* Camp, and took the Field that he might provoke them to come to Battel. But the *Scots* not inclining to come to an Engagement, he went up to *Arthurs seat* near *Edenburrough*, that he might view the Enemy, and consider whether he had not best to fall into their Camp, whil'st his Forces were as yet in good plight, and the *Scots* not altogether well prepared.

Cromwell shews himself, and provokes them to Battel: Then thinks of falling in upon their Camp, but thinks it safer to march back to Musselbrough *to refresh his Souldiers.*

But the Officers disswaded him from that enterprise as being full of danger, if not also rash. Wherefore perceiving that no good was to be done that way, he marches towards *Musselbrough* to refresh his Souldiers, leaving a Guard behind, that might keep the Enemy in play, if perchance they might charge him in the Reer. And indeed, they did so, and beat and put that party to flight; pursuing them, until *Lambert* with another Body of men, put a stop to their Victory, though he received two wounds. Many were killed in that Engagement; which nevertheless was but as a prelude to the Slaughter of the night following. For *Straughan* had undertaken, with fifteen hundred Horse raised by the Clergy, to have *Cromwell* either alive or dead. For that end Prayers were poured forth in the Churches, and the Ministers roaring from the Pulpits, implored, nay, I had almost said, commanded the Victory: As if God Almighty had been obliged in duty by all means to assist his own *Saints*, purged from the leaven of *Malignancy*, and joyned to himself by *Covenant*, against *King-killing Hereticks* and *Sectarians*.

Lambert *beats back the enemy in pursuit of the* English. Straughan *offers great matters, relying not only on the Prayers, but also the Horse of the Clergy.*

In the mean time *Straughan* falls in suddenly and briskly upon the *Cromwellians*, and puts their Out-Guards into Disorder, but with no

He falls upon the English.

But is beat off, and loses his Horse.

happy success, for the Enemy coming up in Bodies one after another, beat off the *Black-Coat* men, and pursued them even to the Camp; *Straighan* himself having been dismounted, and with much ado escaping into the Town. The flying and consternation was so great, that the Pursuers had almost entered the Enemies Camp, had not the Kings Majesty, who came that morning, been happily there. For he, causing the Cannon to be turned against the Fugitives, threatned to Fire upon them, if they rallied not, and drew up again in order, under the protection of the Guns of the Camp, that so the Troops one after another might be received into the Camp. *His Majesty* lay in his Cloaths all that night upon the ground, without a wink of sleep; but the Souldiers next morning being sensible from what danger he had delivered the Army, and how much he had deserved at their hands, had *C. R.* marked with a Coal or Match, some upon their Hats and Caps, and others on their Coats, as a badge of their gratitude.

The King reduces the terrified Souldiers into order.

For which the Souldiers shew him very great Honour.

The Commanders *are angry; The Ministers pray him to withdraw:*

The Council of War was very angry at these things; and the *Ministers* coming, earnestly beg of him, that he would withdraw, and not expose himself to the dangers of War: They pretend to be in Covenant with God, as no *King* was; and that That Life, which was to be preferred before the Lives of ten thousand private Souldiers, was not to be exposed to the Enemy; with many things of that nature. But the King obstinately refusing, and judging it unworthy, that he who swayed the *Royal* Scepter, and wore the Crown, should fear Wounds, or shun the shedding of his Blood for his Subjects: The *Commanders* also come and intercede with him; They beseech, urge, and at length

not

not obſcurely threaten, that if he would not, he might ſhift for himſelf; and if he deſired not to meet with worſe uſage, he would remove to ſome other place: Theſe reaſons ſo prevailed, that at length he withdrew. Then do the *Nobles* and *Miniſters* inquire into the Authors of the Kings coming, and order almoſt a thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot to be disbanded, as being *Malignants*; or that they had not at all, or too late taken the *Covenant*, without any previous ſigns of Repentance. But *Cromwell* at that time knew none of theſe things, who without any ranſome ſent the Priſoners whom he had taken, in his own Coach to *Edenburrough*, that by that good Office he might oblige the *Kirk*, having not as yet loſt all hopes of the *Miniſters*; or at leaſt that he might have an occaſion of getting Intelligence of the affairs of the Enemies.

To whom with much ado he at length liſtens.

The Priſoners are ſent home in Cromwells *Coach.*

Cromwell marches back to *Dunbar*, where the Ships rode at Anchor, that he might refreſh his faint Souldiers with Proviſions, give them ſome reſt, and draw the *Scots* farther off from their Camp; but being impatient of delay, after a few days he marched back again, and found much rejoycing and feaſting at *Edenburrough*, for the departure of the *Engliſh*, which his ſudden approach quickly put a ſtop to. *David Leſlie* is ſent to *Cromwell* from the *Committee of the Kirk*, to acquaint him; *That the King ſtumbling at, and refuſing to ſubſcribe to the Declaration offered him by the Committee of Eſtates, and Commiſſioners of the Kirk, concerning his former Carriage, and Reſolution for the future, is cauſe of juſt Grief and Offence, in reference to the Cauſe of God, and the Enemies and Friends thereof. And therefore they do declare, that they do not, nor will not eſpouſe*

Cromwell *returns to* Dunbar,

And from thence ſuddenly marching back again, diſturbs the joys of the Scots.

The Kirk *and* States *renounce the defence of* Malignants.

any malignant Party or Quarrel, but that they fight meerly upon their former Grounds and Principles, in the cauſe of God and the Kingdom, nor will they own the King, nor his Intereſt, farther than he owns and proſecutes the Cauſe of God, &c.

Cromwell *takes two* Forts *in view of the* Scots;

Cromwell perceiving that there was no way to allure the *Scots* to a Battel, marches towards *Pentland* Hills, and in ſight of the Army, takes in *Collington* and *Red-houſe*, both garriſoned by Souldiers, that ſo he might draw the *Scots* out of their Trenches. But when neither that could do, he drew up his Army, marches too and again about the Camp, views, provokes them, and threatens a preſent attempt. Nevertheleſs the *Scots* keep to their reſolution, ſometimes, indeed, skirmiſhing with, and haraſſing the Enemy, but not daring to put it to the tryal of a Battel: Until the Souldiers were enured by Skirkmiſhes and ſlight Engagements, to look the *Cromwellians* in the Face, uſe their Arms, and lay aſide all fear; and that they might at length, with no great labour, defeat *Cromwell's* Forces, tired out and weakned, by the badneſs of Air, Cold, Hunger, watching and frequent Skirmiſhing.

Who budg not for all that;

And to waſh off the Aſperſion of Cowardiſe, they give Cromwell *aſſurance that they would ſhortly fight him,*

But, becauſe a rumour was ſpread abroad, that the *Scots* kept within their Dens and lurking holes with a whole Skin, not daring, (like Cowards) to hazard a Battel, that they might wipe off that Aſperſion, they ſend a ſplendid meſſage to *Cromwell*, to aſſure him, that within a few days he ſhould have experience of the contrary. And that they might be as good as their word, two days after drawing out their Forces, they march to the right hand, as towards *Sterling*, and after a ſhort march halt. *Cromwell*, that he might not ſeem to decline an opportu-

And march to the right hand, and come to a halt.

nity

nity of Fighting, now by them offered, advances against, and follows them: But when he came within Musquet-shot of the Enemy, he puts Spurs to his Horse and advances, that he himself might view what it was that hindered the *Scots* from coming on: Finding a great Marish there, which could not without difficulty be passed over, with his great Guns (which was all he could do) he thunders against the Army, to which the *Scots*, on the other side, return the like answer. This roaring of great Guns lasted about the space of two hours, with no great loss on either side, and then both draw off, put an end to that kind of Mock-fight.

He presently following, finds a Marish betwixt them.

Cromwell returning to his Camp, on *Penkland Hills*, has intelligence that the Enemy was about to surprise *Musselbrough*, and intercept the Provisions, which he usually received in Boats from *Dunbar*. Therefore they march thither in the dead of the Night, and having refreshed the Army, they put on board Ships fifteen hundred Men, who being sick or wounded, were not able to carry Arms, and the rest march towards *Haddington*. The *Scots* are at their heels Skirmishing with them in the Rear, and flouting and jeering them; nor were they sooner encamped, but that they were set upon; yet only to disturb and alarm them, not to engage them with the whole Army. Next day the *Cromwellians* march to *Dunbar*, midway betwixt *Berwick* and *Edenburrough*, upon the Sea shoar; *Lammer-moor* Hills to the South, being almost impassable. The *Scots* sent a Body of Men to *Cobberspath*, who, though they were but few in number, might hinder a far greater to pass over the Hills; and pitch their Camp about *Dunbar*. This being a very Rainy night, the

From thence he marches to Musselbrough *to hinder its being surprised, and presently after to* Haddington,

Next day to Dunbar, *the* Scots *molesting them in their march,*

Who encamp thereabouts.

the Officers rambled up and down, and the private Souldiers, I know not by whose Order, had put out their Matches, (which as it usually happens when things go amiss,) was imputed to Treachery) though there was a strong Guard kept next to the *English*.

About break of day Lambert *first falls in upon the* Scots, *and presently after* Cromwell, *who obtain a great Victory.*

But *Cromwell* having that night refreshed and cherished his Souldiers in good Lodging, in the Town of *Dunbar*, divided his Forces about break of day, and sends *Lambert* first to charge the main Guard of the *Scots*; he himself follows after, and after a sharp dispute, wherein most part being wounded, many were killed, he dispersed them all, and follows them to the Camp, where presently there was nothing but noise and confusion, Men running to and again, they knew not whither, the groaning and sighing of dying Men, shouts and joyful acclamations of the Conquerours, flying and slaughter. Three thousand are killed, nine thousand taken Prisoners; fifteen thousand Arms, all the Artillery and Ammunition, with above two hundred Colours fall into the hands of the Victorious. The Prisoners, (after the wounded sick and weak, and those that were of no value were set at liberty) are sent to *New-Castle*, in *England*; where by the Governour *Haselrig* many of them were starved, having nothing to eat but green Cabbage Leaves, and Oats in a small proportion: The more Robust that out-lived this Diet, are condemned to the *Sugar-Mills*, and by the *English* Planters are transported to the *West-Indies*.

Whilst these things were acting, the Pulpits of *Edenburrough* resound with Prayers, and promise a certain and speedy Victory, and that the Feet of those who brought glad tydings were at hand,

hand. But whil'ſt they are hourly in expectation of joyful, they receive ſad and ſorrowful news; *Leſlie* himſelf arrives about ten of the Clock the ſame day, and aſſures them of a total overthrow. *So dangerous a thing it is to paſs a Judgement of God Almighty, and, by the line of our weak Reaſon, to fathom the depth of unſearchable Providence. For the purpoſes of a ſincere heart, are many times diſappointed by corrupt affections.*

Leſlie *himſelf the Meſſenger of the defeat, renders vain the confidence of the Pulpits.*

Cromwell marching back victorious, during the general Conſternation, takes, *Leeth*, *Edenburrough*, and the neighbouring Garriſons on this ſide of the *Forth*. Only *Edenburrough Caſtle* durſt hold out. It is built on a high abrupt Rock, inexpugnable by Scituation and Art, to which there is no way to mount, but by one ſteep ſide of a Hill, and that but for two, or three together. *Dundaſs* had the command of this place, with a Garriſon of forty Souldiers, fifty great Guns, and a full Magazine. He preſently cauſes works to be caſt up, to ſecure the City from the Caſtle, inviting from thence the *Edenburrough Miniſters*, who had fled thither for ſecurity and protection. He commands all the Ships, Veſſels, and Boats, that were in the *Forth*, either to be broken, or to be brought into *Leeth*, that all hopes might be cut off, of tranſporting Men or Ammunition unto the Enemy, on the other ſide.

Edinburrough *and* Leeth *forthwith yield to the Conquerour*; *But the Caſtle inexpugnable by Scituation and Art, holds out.*

Therefore he commands works to be caſt up againſt it.

From thence he marches to *Sterling*, whither all the *Scottiſh* Cavalry, and the remnant of the Foot had eſcaped. But finding it ſtronger, than at that time of the year it could be taken, without ſucceſs he turns aſide to *Glaſgow*, there to wheadle and try the Pulſe of the *Miniſters*, who managed all things at their pleaſure, ſome he ſollicits, others he cajoals and flatters with extraordinary

From thence he purſues the remnant of the Army to Sterling, *but in vain*; *and leaving that place, viſits the Miniſters at* Glaſgow, *endeavouring to allure them to his ſide: and by Letters tries what he could work upon* Ker *and* Straughan.

extraordinary fair Promises, and a little mollifies them, charming and taming the *Syrens* with a Can. He sends likewise to the *Committee of Estates*, and to try the inclinations of two eminent Commanders of the Army, *Straughan*, and *Ker*, employing in all places sly and cunning Foxes, who partly with flattering speeches, and partly by threats and snubs, might bend the minds of their Country-men unto his Party, or crush their Resolutions. For two or three days the good man did negotiate with the *Ministers*; during which time the Souldiers interred a Member of the *Marquis of Montross*, that was put up upon the Gate, being in that more generous and just, than they who had denied it Burial. However, that he might not lose all his labour, he takes *Jedburgh*, and returns to *Edenburrough*; and a little after, a Fleet arrives at *Leeth* with fresh Souldiers, Money, Hay, and all sorts of Provisions.

After three days, having taken Jedburgh, *he returns to* Edenburrough.

But because the Rode betwixt *Edenburrough* and *England*, was infested by a dangerous sort of Robbers, called *Moss-Troopers*. In pursuit of those, *Monck* marches out with a Morter-piece, and some Field-pieces, and a choice Body of Horse and Foot, who having intelligence that they had taken their nights Quarters in *Dilcon* House, not far from *Heddington*, he beset the House in the night time, and having plyed them with the Morter-piece and Field-pieces, next morning he took them all. *Roslan* Castle fell next into his hands; and then *Tantallon*, which being seated on a craggy Rock, is on three sides encompassed with the Sea, and strongly fortified to the Land, standing half way betwixt *Edenburrough* and *Dunbar*. This Castle was so long battered by *Monck*, until breaches

Monck *marches against Robbers*;

Takes Roslan, *and the strong Castle of* Tantallon;

breaches being made in the Walls, the Garrison surrendered: though when *James* the fourth of *Scotland* besieged it, for many months it had resisted the fury of great Guns. About the same time *Fenwick* takes *Hume* Castle standing upon a very high and unaccessable Rock, the Garrison having free Liberty to depart.

As Fenwick *did* Hume *Castle, almost as strong.*

But we must return to *Edenburrough* Castle, for reducing of which *Cromwell* left no means unessayed. At first he resolved to attack it by Mines, and having employed both *English* and *Scottish* Colliers, who were accustomed to dig in the Coalpits, he falls to mining; and by the force of fire endeavours to soften the stone: But all in vain because of the hardness of the Rock, which was proof against all his Arts. When therefore he could not blow it up into the Air, he endeavours to batter it down to the ground, and sets men at work night and day to raise a battery, so near the walls of the Castle, that by uncessant battering he might at length make a breach, which being with much labour and pains finished, and fortified with *Gabions* and baskets full of Earth, he plants thereon, four mortar pieces, and six great Guns, and without intermission batters the place with great noise and damage. *Dundas* being terrified desires a conference with the Provost of *Aberdeen*, and another (whose name I know not) both being at that time in *Edenburrough*. These men refusing a conference with him, in the next place, he desires leave to send a Messenger to know the minds of the Council of *Scotland*, as to the relieving of the place. But since neither that was granted, *Cromwell* denying him the liberty to send a Messenger, both parties resolve to continue the

Cromwell *earnestly sets about the reduction of* Edinburrough *Castle.*

And having therefore, in vain essayed Mines, he batters it with his Cannon.

Till the Governour, having in vain desired a conference and liberty to write to the Council of Scotland,

the Siege. At length, the Governour's Wife being bruised by a Granado-shell, and an hundred and fifty Soldiers who had been privately put in for a supply, occasioning Tumults and Sedition, the Governour took a pretext of surrendring the Castle which he resolved to do before, if he could have an honest colour for it; and having sent a Deputy to *Cromwell*, both parties agreed upon these Articles. *That the Castle should be surrendered to his Excellency Oliver* Cromwell, *with all the Ordinance, Arms, Magazine, and Furniture of War thereunto belonging, on Tuesday the 24 of December.* 2. *That the Governour, Officers and Soldiers should march with Drums beating &c. in Military posture, to such place as they shall appoint.* 3. *The publick moveables, private writs and evidences to be removed to* Sterling. 4. *That Proclamation should be made for all that had Goods in the Castle, to come or send to own and receive them.* 5. *All sick Officers and Soldiers as well as hurt, to have liberty to stay in* Edenburrough, *and the English to provide Horses and Waggons for the Governour, and other Officers; and Hostages to be given on the* Scots *part for performance.*

And his wife, at length being bruised by a Granado-shell,

Consented to these Articles

In the Castle were taken three and fifty piece of Cannon, some of them considerable both for size and beauty; eight thousand Arms, fourscore barrels of Gunpowder, and all the Kings Hangings, Tapestry and Jewels. So fell, (as I may say) that *winged Castle*, its Wings being broken; and that strong place, that gloried in it's *Virginity*, as having never as yet submitted to a Conquerour, is now deflowred by *Cromwell*. The *Scots* cry, it was taken by silver Bullets: But of hidden and obscure matters, I shall not willingly pass a Judgment.

And delivers up the Castle,

In

In the mean time, the *Scottish* Nobility on the other side of *Forth* in a Parliament held at St. *Johnston*, consult what is to be done in this desperate state of Affairs, for preserving the rest of their Countrey, and regaining what was lost: Where the *King's Majesty* was little regarded, who being daily more and more offended against the *Presbyterians*, resolves to fly to the *Highlanders*, throw himself into their Arms, take the Patronage of them, and so try a common Fortune with those of his Subjects, who, being rejected by the *Covenanters*, were in Arms separately by themselves; and if it had not been for the reverence and awe they stood in of the King, would have flown in the faces of those Countrey-men of theirs, at least would have been very troublesome unto them. And now being informed how basely the *King* was used by the *Covenanters*, they invite him to them, promising to protect and defend him; these were the Marquess of *Huntley*, Earls of *Athol* and *Seaforth*, the Lords *Ogilby*, and *Gordon*, *Middleton* and several other great men. The *King* had already listned to these, and secretly casts about with himself how he might make his escape out of the hands of those *Covenanters*. Therefore mounting on Horse-back without Boots, as if he had been going a Hawking, with three or four more in Company, he slips out of Town, and directs his Journey to the house of the Lord Vicount *Diddop*, with a purpose to abscond, until the return of the Messengers, who had been sent to learn the minds of the *Highlanders*, whether or not they were able, and were indeed willing to assist him.

The Scots *consult what is best to be done,*

The King *slighted, resolves to fly to the* Highlanders, *who were in Arms apart;*

And by whom he was invited:

And privately goes to the house of the Lord Diddop.

In the mean time an *Englishman* having discovered

vered where the King was, great debates arise amongst the Nobles, whether the *Scots* should leave him to shift for himself, and onely look to themselves; or having made submission unto him, and promised greater obedience for the future, they should use his means and Authority for reconciling all parties and perswasions. This was liked of by most; and for that end *Montgomery* is quickly dispatched, with a trusty party of Horse, that he might represent to his *Majesty* how dangerous that forsaking of the Covenanters, would be to himself and his Affairs; intreat him to return; and promise better usage for the future. In pursuance of his orders, he came and beset the Lord *Diddop*'s house in the night time, and entring in the morning, fell at his Majesties feet, and pressed him so urgently, that by his and others perswasion, he was prevailed upon to return back with him to St. *Johnston*.

Montgomery follows him,

And prevails with his Majesty to return.

About that time, as an accession to other Calamities, the Death of the Prince of *Orange* happened. He had fallen sick of the *small Pox*, which at first seemed to threaten no danger; having been let Blood, put on clean Linnen, and eaten Flesh unseasonably, he suddenly dies; and, indeed, too soon for the *King*, and his own Family. But he left a posthumous Son, the present Prince, to inherit his just Rights and Dignities in the *United Provinces*.

The Prince of Orange *dies.*

Now began the minds of the *Scots* to bend by degrees. Heretofore none to be admitted into the War, but he who first gave a confession of his Faith, and whose Religion was no ways suspected. Flatterers, who could counterfeit Godly looks and grimaces, were freely admitted; but men of Courage, who had signalized themselves

The Scots at length admit all to the War.

ſelves in the Wars, were put back: No Water could ſerve them to quench the fire, but what came from the clear Fountain Head; no Sword, but the Holy Sword of the Spirit was to be drawn againſt the Enemy. Now all are ſharers in the War, yet not before they had confeſſed their Sins, and by a kind of Repentance ſcowred their Conſciences. The Marqueſs of *Hamilton* is oblig'd of new to take the Covenant; as alſo the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Crawford*, *Buchan*, the Lords, *Diddop*, *Levingſtone*, and many other Perſons of great Quality. Nay and the Engliſh alſo, as the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Wilmot*, Earl of *Cleveland*, *Maſſey* and others, whoſe names I do not remember, are aſſociated.

But not till they took the Covenant.

Thoſe that reſiſted, were by the King's means united to the reſt,

But *Middleton* and *Huntley*, not ſatisfied with the Act of Indemnity, having joyned the forces of the Earl of *Athol*, march againſt them, and defeat *Browns* Regiment; and had alſo engaged *Leſly*, had not the coming of the King put an end to the Controverſie, *all being relaxed from Excommunication, taking the Covenant, and aſſociated into the War.*

Whilſt theſe things are in agitation on the other ſide of *Forth*, the effects of *Cromwell*'s Letters and practiſes began to appear, in that Seeds of Sedition being ſown amongſt the *Scots*, the foundations of the Kirk were miſerably ſhaken; the *Remonſtrators* from the Pulpit railing at the *King* and his Miniſters; and publiſhing Libels, (nay at length appealing to *Cromwell*) againſt General Aſſemblies, which they ſawcily enveigh againſt, becauſe they prohibited their clamorous *buffoonery*: And in all places cry, *that it was lawful for none that were truly Godly* to take up Arms, for the cauſe above

The Miniſters diſagree among themſelves.

mentioned, at the Command of the *Parliament*, *King*, or *Kirk*.

The Remonſtrance ſubſcribed by many;

All the South part of *Scotland*, with greateſt part of the Miniſters, and the Horſe that were Commanded by *Ker*, and *Straughan*, are drawn in to ſubſcribe the *Remonſtrance*; wherein they ſpew out the poiſon of their rancour againſt all thoſe, *Who had called in the King too haſtily, before he had given certain marks of ſincere Repentance and Converſion to God; and before they had ſounded the minds of the Parricides, who had not had ſatisfaction*; objecting to them much more of the ſame ſtuff: At laſt they propoſe ways for remedying thoſe Evils. The *Parliament* and *Aſſemblie of the Kirk* at firſt eſſay to mitigate and appeaſe thoſe violent Spirits with Lenities, inviting them to ſend Commiſſioners to *St. Johnſton*, that if they had any remaining Scrupules, they might be removed without noiſe. But they returning an anſwer more inſolently, propoſe *Sterling* as a *place of greater ſecurity to both meetings.*

Who behaving themſelves ſeditiouſly,

Ker *is ordered to apprehend* Straughan, *who preſently after died.*

That the *Parliament* might repreſs that Sedition, they order *Ker* to apprehend *Straughan*, and bring him to Juſtice: But he diſcovering the Train, inſtantly fled into *Cromwell*'s Camp, where ſoon after dying, he concluded the Cataſtrophe of his Fortune. And ſo *Ker* alone has the command of the Horſe.

Cromwell *purſues* Ker:

Cromwell now deſpairing of the inteſtine diſſentions amongſt the *Scots*, purſues *Ker*; and having ordered *Lambert* and *Whaley* with five Regiments of Foot, and an hundred Dragoons, to keep along the South ſide of the River *Clide*, he himſelf advances on the North ſide. *Lambert* marching through *Peebles*, quartered at *Hamilton*; which *Ker* being informed of by his Scouts,

and

and knowing that *Cromwell* was abſent, with fifteen hundred Horſe, he ſuddenly falls upon *Lumbert* in the night time, and that very ſucceſsfully at firſt, till by chance a Tree being laid croſs the ſtreet in the middle of the Town, which a Captain with a Company defended, put a ſtop to their Progreſs, whilſt *Lambert* drew up his Men, and, ſurrounding the Enemy, charged them on the Rear. And having made a conſiderable ſlaughter of them, and *Ker* himſelf, who was ſhot through the hand, being taken, he purſued the reſt to *Air*, which Town being preſently taken, was ſecured with a Garriſon. And ſo thoſe of the old Army that hitherto remained, are quite broken and diſperſed, whether more to the grief or ſatisfaction of the *King*, I cannot tell.

Who unexpectedly falls upon Lambert,

But unfortunately.

About the ſame time a great Conſpiracy of *Presbyterians*, both *Miniſters* and *Lay-men* is diſcovered at *London*; which took vent firſt in *Scotland*, and was by *Cromwell*, upon ſome ſuſpitions he had not without ground conceived, recommended to the Regicides of *England* to be ſifted. A Ship bound for the Iſle of *Man*, to acquaint the Earl of *Derby* with the whole Scheme of the matter was, by ſtreſs of weather, accidentally forced into *Air*: The Souldiers ſearching the Ship, detect the ſecret, afterwards the Conſpiratours are brought to Examination at *London*; and by the mutual accuſations one of another, the whole Intrigue was laid open. That at the inſtigation of *Maſſey*, and ſome *Scots*, they had deſigned to raiſe Money and Arms, and therewith levy an Army in *Scotland*, which being joyned to *Ker*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Lord Wilmot*, and *Maſſie*, ſhould invade *England*; Of this are accuſed, *Jenkins*, *Caſe*, *Drake*, *Love*,

A Conſpiracy diſcovered at London.

For raiſing an Army in Scotland, *to invade* England.

and many other Ministers, besides Lay-Men, *Gibbons*, *Cook*, *Potter*, &c. *Adams*, *Alured*, *Bains*, and others are brought in, who had taken the *League* and *Covenant* of the three Nations, as they used to call it, and had served under *Essex*, and who professed that they had stood on the Covenanters side, that they might pump out all things, but were secretly of another mind, that they might so be able to give a clearer Evidence before the *High Court of Justice*; all of them being convicted are condemned to Death; which two, undauntedly suffered; * one of whom, (that I may take notice of it by the by) by an unseasonable Sermon, formerly disturbed the treaty of *Uxbridge*, rashly inveighing against all Reconciliation, as if it were not lawful for those that professed the Christian Religion, to have any Peace, or Commerce with the Followers of *Antichrist*, giving that Name to the *Royalists*. The rest being sufficiently warned, by the punishment of those two, and professing Sorrow and Repentance are one after another gradually dismissed, and set at liberty.

All that were found guilty of this, are condemned, and two suffer.

* Love, *he and* Gibbons *were the two that suffered.*

Another Conspiracy in Norfolk, Suffolk, *and* Cambridge-shire,

Scarcely was that Conspiracy stifled, but a new Sedition arose amongst the *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridge-shire* men, which was nevertheless smothered in the birth, all the undertakers being dispersed; of whom, in *Norfolk* alone, fifty Men, by Sentence of the High Court of Justice, were hanged for that attempt. And that we may insist no longer upon these Tragedies, a great many *Welsh* in *Cardigan-shire* gathered together, which in a short time might have looked like an Army, had not the Forces, who were ready in all places round about, drawn together, and quenched that Fire with Blood.

But in vain;

The Welshmen *with like success.*

But

But this is only a digreſſion, which may ſomewhat ſerve to excuſe the *Scottiſh* Invaſion, that happened this year.

But let us return again to *Scotland*, where now the ſolemn Coronation of the *Kings Majeſty* is appointed to be at *Scoon*, ſeaven and fourty Kings having heretofore put on the Crown of *Scotland* in that place; where it was performed with as much Pomp, conſidering the times, and the diminution of their ſtrength, as it had been celebrated in more flouriſhing ages. The Marqueſs of *Argile* put the Crown upon his Head, with joyful acclamations of the People, firing of Guns, ſplendid Feaſting, and Bonefires in all places. *The King is Crowned at Scoon.*

And now *Scotland* is wholly taken up, in preparations for War, levying of Souldiers, raiſing Money, and diſciplining the Forces. The King himſelf views the Garriſons that border on *Fiffe* and *Forth*, and prepares for defence. From thence he viſits the *Highlanders*, that he might compoſe the Feuds and Quarrels that were amongſt them; but as if they had been poſſeſſed with *Furies*, and as if freſh flames had burſt daily out of the dead Embers, they bitterly quarrel and contend about Command and Governments; until by order of *Parliament* the very Names of the Factious are abrogated, and all are freely admitted into the Army, though *Argile* oppoſed it. *Commiſſioners* are likewiſe appointed, to remove all impediments, who have Power given them, both of examining and puniſhing Friends and Favourers of the Rebel-*Parricides*; and whilſt many received the condign puniſhments of theſe Crimes, *Wariſton* and *Cheeſeley* timely made their eſcape to *Cromwells* Camp. The King ſets up his Standard at *Aberdeen*; to which from all places about, Volunteers, and Honorary Soul- *And ſets himſelf wholly to the defence of the Kingdom.* *Diſſentions are extinguiſhed.* *The Favourers of the Rebel-Parricides are puniſhed.* *The King ſets up his ſtandard,*

diers flock in great numbers. From thence the *King* marches to *Sterling*, and having muſtered the Army, makes *Duke Hamilton* his *Lieutenant General*, *David Leſlie Major General*, *Middleton*, *Major General of the Horſe*, and *Maſſey*, General of the *Engliſh* Troops. Having aſſigned to all their ſeveral Offices, he Encamps and Entrenches at *Torwood*, four miles from *Sterling*, that he may train up, and put Life in his raw and unexperienced Souldiers, by Skirmiſhings, and fighting in Parties, before he put them to the Tryal of a pitcht Battel; and that he might in the mean time raiſe more Forces; in the doing whereof, whilſt the Earl of *Eglinton*, and ſome other perſons of Quality, are buſie at *Dumbarton*, they are of a ſudden ſurprized by *Lilburn*.

And having muſtered his Army, encamps at Torwood.

Amidſt the great Cares and Dangers that all lay under, the *Kings* Birth-day was celebrated with all due Solemnity; to the Honour whereof, the Town of *Dundee* made ſplendid preſents; to wit, A moſt *excellent Pavilion*, *ſix Field-pieces*, *with Carriages and Ammunition*, and which procured them greateſt thanks, *a compleat well armed Regiment of Horſe*, a mark of true Affection.

The Scots *celebrate the Kings Birth-day.*

Cromwell in the mean time loyters not; but his Souldiers being furniſhed with new Cloaths, Money, and all other neceſſaries ſent from *London*, through *New-bridge* and *Hamilton* he marches to *Torwood*, where furiouſly moving too and again, he views in all places, if an attempt might any where be made upon the Camp. But when he found it ſo well fortified on all ſides, that without danger there was nothing to be attempted upon it, having taken *Calendar* Houſe, he dares the *Scots* to come out,

Cromwell *viſits* Torwood *Not daring to attempt it.*

Overton,

Overton, in the mean while, being provided of Ships, flat bottomed Boats, and other Veſſels for tranſporting of Horſe and Foot, with ſixteen hundred Foot, and four Troops of Horſe, puts out into the *Forth*, with orders to Land at the *Queens Ferry*, which he eaſily performed, beating off the *Scots* that reſiſted him; and preſently caſting up a haſty work he entrenched himſelf, and ſends to *Lambert* to come to his aſſiſtance; who at the ſame place, paſſing over two Regiments of Foot, and as many of Horſe, he was met by *Colonel Sr. John Brown* and Major General *Hobourn*, with four thouſand men, Horſe and Foot. It was ſtoutly fought on both ſides; but with unhappy ſucceſs to the *Scots*, of whom two thouſand were killed, and twelve hundred taken, with two and fourty Colours, and amongſt thoſe *Brown*, who lived not long after the Battle. Thus the *Engliſh* got ſo ſure footting on the other ſide of *Forth*, that all the Forces of *Scotland* were not able to drive them thence. Whilſt theſe things are done at *Forth*, *Cromwell* hovers about the *King's* Camp, as if he were every minute about to attack them; but onely to the end that he might keep them in play, until *Lambert* had routed the *Scots*, as we have juſt now related.

Overton paſſes Forth;

And preſently after, Lambert,

Who obtained a Victory over the Scots.

The *King* now leaving *Torwood*, encamps in *Sterling* Park. But the *Scots* ſeized with a panick fear, upon the firſt ſummons ſurrender the Caſtle of *Inchgarvey*, an impregnable place ſtanding in the middle of the *Forth*, leaving behind them ſixteen piece of Cannon, and *Blackneſs*, *Brantiland* alſo, on the other ſide of the *Frith* over againſt *Leeth*, ſurrenders no leſs diſgracefully, delivering up the Guns, Ammunition and Ships. *Cromwell* being informed of theſe ſuc-

Garriſons being ſummoned, preſently ſurrender.

ceſſes, would not loſe time by waiting the motions of the *King's* Army: Wherefore he paſſed over to *Brantiland*, whence ſending *Whaley* to take in the ſmaller Garriſons which lay upon the Coaſt of *Fiffe*, he himſelf marches towards St. *Johnſton*, which the King had entruſted to the defence of the Lord *Duffus* with twelve hundred men, though to no purpoſe: For *Cromwell* having drained the water out of the Mote and Ditches, and battering the Walls with his Cannon, forces a ſurrender of the place.

Cromwell *takes the town of St.* Johnſton,

Cromwell being now at a great diſtance from *Sterling*, and wholely taken up about theſe matters, the King having given the beſt Orders he could about the Affairs of *Scotland*, ſets out upon his march into *England*, that in that Kingdom of his, he might try his fate, which had been very croſs to him in the other. Therefore on the laſt of *July* one thouſand ſix hundred fifty one, at *Carliſle* he enters *England* with about fourteen thouſand men, Horſe and Foot. But the Soldiers march with ſo much hardſhip, and ſo ſevere diſcipline, that hardly any Age hath ſeen the like; ſo that from *Carliſle* to *Worceſter*, about two hundred Miles diſtant from one another, no man, much leſs any houſe received the leaſt injury; if you'l except the breaking of one Orchard, and the taking of four or five Apples; for which, notwithſtanding, the Soldier that committed it was preſently ſhot to Death. In all places on their march, the Garriſons are ſummoned in the Kings name to ſurrender, but without any ſucceſs: And in the more eminent places, by Heralds *CHARLES the Second* is proclaimed *King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland; the people in

The King, in the mean time marches ſtreight to England,

By Carliſle,

Troubleſome to no man.

In the chief Towns he is proclaimed King of England, *&c.*

in the mean while being in great Conſternation.

So ſoon as the news of this expedition was by Poſt brought to the *Rump-Parliament*, and the report flying that the King having mounted his Soldiers on Horſes which he found upon the Rode, haſtened his March towards *London*, as it is common to fear, to make dangers far greater than they are, ſuch Horror and Conſternation invaded the minds of the *Parricides* and *Rebels*, that in deſpair they began to caſt about for lurking holes and places of eſcape, and accuſed *Cromwell* of raſhneſs and precipitancy: Until they had notice that the King had diverted to *Worceſter*, and received freſh comforts from *Cromwell*'s Letters, who bad them be of good cheer, and uſe their utmoſt force, to obviat that laſt danger, and wholely deſtroy the Enemy.

The Parricides *quaking at the news of it,*

Harriſon on the left hand with three thouſand Horſe, waited the motion of the King's Army, being for that end left behind on the Borders of *England*; after followed *Lambert*, with two thouſand; both as occaſion offered, haraſſing and hindering them in their March. At *Warrington* Bridge, they made the chiefeſt attempt, to hinder the King's Forces to paſs it. But before the Bridge could be cut, *Lambert*'s men being engaged and forced to retreat, the *Scots* get over. And now leaving *London* Rode, they reſolve to reſt at *Worceſter*, a City ſcituated upon the *Savern*; from whence they hoped to receive ſuccours from *Wales*, and make great levies in *Gloceſter* and *Oxford* ſhires by the means of *Muſſey*, who heretofore had with reputation been Governour of *Gloceſter* for the Parliament. Thither therefore they march, and having met with

Harriſon *and* Lambert *wait the motions of the King, and in vain oppoſe him at* Warrington *Bridge.*

The King eaſily poſſeſſes himſelf of Worceſter. with one repulſe from ſome of the Paliament Souldiers that were there by chance, they poſſeſs the City, but were much weakened and impaired in ſtrength by the tediouſneſs and length of the march.

He kindly invites the Londoners *to his aſſiſtance,* From hence, the *Kings Majeſty*, by Letters, *invites the Lord Mayor and Common-Council of* London, *to Arm for his Defence, and for their own juſt Liberties; promiſing Pardon to all for what was paſt, except the Murderers of his Father.*

Who unworthily receive his Letters. But theſe Letters are burnt at the *Royal Exchange* by the Hand of the Common Hangman; a Copie of them is alſo burnt by the Hand of the Speaker *Lental* at a general Muſter of the Trained-bands of *London*, in *Moor-fields.*

He demands aid of all his Subjects. The *King* preſently after his arrival, in *Pitchford*-field near *Worceſter*, by Proclamation, *Commands all from ſixteen to ſixty years of Age*, according to the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom, *to come to his Aſſiſtance.* In obedience to that Proclamation, ſhortly after, *Francis* Lord *Talbot*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with ſixty Horſe, *Thomas Hornihold* with fourty, *John Maſhburn* with fourty, *John Parkinton*, *Walter Blunt*, *Ralph Clair*, and many more both Knights and Eſquires, beſides two thouſand common People, come in this deſperate State of Affairs to hazard their Lives in the Kings Service. The conjunction of theſe makes in all fourteen thouſand; two thouſand *Scots*, either for fear, or becauſe of the tediouſneſs of the March having dropt off by the way. Why more did not come into the Kings Camp, any Man may gueſs at the reaſon of it; to wit, That the late ſuppreſſion of the Inſurrection of the *Welſh*, *Londoners*, and *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk* Men, and the cruelty of the *Rump-Parliament* in puniſhing the

Many Gentlemen come;

But only two thouſand of the Common People.

Why ſo few came in.

the fruitleſs attempts of riſing, run in all Peoples Minds. Beſides the ſudden and unexpected coming of the King, gave no truce to the well affected, of animating one another, and of aſſociating for his Service. Nor, laſtly, could the injuries done by the *Scots* not long before in *England*, be got out of the Minds of the *Engliſh*; it ſeeming much the ſame to them, whether they ſuffered Bondage under the Tyranny of their Countrey-men, or the Inſolence of the *Scots*. And above all, we are to conſider the great diligence of the Republicans of both ſorts, in ſtirring up the Countries, encreaſing their Forces, and in obſerving and ſuppreſſing thoſe who were Loyal to the *King*.

Cromwell, who left *Monck* in *Scotland* with Eight thouſand Men to carry on his Victories there, being now come back into *England*, animates with new Vigour the Forces of the Rebel-Parricides; and preſently joyning his Men with *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, *Gray* and *Fleetwood*, and thoſe who from all parts came flocking in partly voluntarily, and partly by compulſion, he made up an Army (if ſome be not miſtaken in their reckoning) of fourſcore thouſand Men, and more, whom he poſts round the City of *Worceſter*.

Cromwel with a vaſt Army Beſieges Worceſter.

But the brave, though unfortunate attempts of the Earl of *Derby* which happened about that time, are not to be paſt over in ſilence. He with a ſmall handful of two hundred and fifty Men, from his own Iſle of *Man*, arrived at a little Town in *Lancaſhire*, and in that Countrey raiſed almoſt fifteen hundred Men; with whom he marches to *Manchester*, there to joyn five hundred more; but to his misfortune he met with *Lilburn* a Colonel of the *Rump-Parliament* Forces, with ſixteen hundred Men. For coming

The Earl of Derby *with a handful of new raiſed Men,*

Is defeated by Lilburn.

ing presently to blow up the Town of *Wigan*, after a smart conflict the Earl is defeated, who having received two wounds, by By-ways cross the Countrey he flies to *Worcester*, the Lord *Widderington*, Sir *Thomas Tilsley*, *Matthew Bointon* and *Trollop*, Colonels, with Lieutenant Colonel *Galliard* being kill'd, and Sir *William Throgmorton*, Colonel *Richard Leg*, with four other Officers, and fourty Private Souldiers taken.

Massey *is beat out of* Upton, *which the* Cromwellians *possess themselves of.*

Cromwell in the mean time views the *Kings* Camp, uncertain as yet in what part to fall on: He thought it, however, fit to make his first attempt at *Upton*, seaven Miles above *Worcester* to the *South*, where there is a Stone-bridge over the *Severn*. *Massey* had broken the Bridge, and accidentally left a Plank from one Arch to another, lying secure with two hundred and fifty Horse in the Neighbouring Town, and no Guard left to defend the pass. But the *Cromwellians* laying hold of the occasion, straddling upon the Plank, pass over one after another; and encreasing in number, they possess themselves of *Upton* Church, and for some time defend it, until more Swimming over the River on Horseback, and crossing the Bridge that was now in some manner repaired, came up to their Assistance. *Massey* takes the Allarm too late, and having received a grievous wound in the Hand is forced to Retreat to *Worcester*. Then upon a Bridge of Boats, they pass the small River *Team*, which running at some distance to the *West*, falls into the *Severn* a little below the Town. Soon after a like Bridge of Boats being made over the *Severn* it self, they joyn'd all their Forces under *Bun-hill*, within a Mile of *Worcester*, and march towards the Citie, as challenging the Kings Forces to come out.

The

The night following, *Middleton* with fifteen hundred Horſe and Foot, all *Scots*, reſolves to Sally out upon the Enemy. But the *Cromwellians* were in readineſs, having had timely Intelligence given them by a Taylor, who was hang'd for his Treachery: Nevertheleſs the Royaliſts attempt to break into the Camp, but in vain, and having loſt Major *Knox* with ſome others, they Retreat back again. And now the third of *September* came, a Day fatal to, and never to be forgot by the *Scots* for the overthrow they received at *Dunbar* the year before; when the *King* with a Council of War, viewing the Enemies from the high Steeple of the *Cathedral-Church*, perceived them upon their March towards the Town. All preſently Arm, and the *King* himſelf marches out to the defence of *Powick-bridge*, and to hinder the Enemies paſſing over the Bridge of Boats, which we juſt now mentioned. The *King* was ſcarcely got back into the Town, when *Montgomery* who defended the Bridge, being dangerouſly wounded, aud deſtitute of Gunpouder, *Kreth* alſo another Commander being taken, returns to the City. Whil'ſt theſe things were acting, the *Kings Majeſty* turning towards the Eaſt-ſide of the Town, reſolves to hazard a Battel. Therefore with a conſiderable Body of Foot, but a ſmall number of Horſe (for the *Scottiſh* Cavalry ſcarce budg'd) he marches againſt the Enemy at *Perry-wood* with a moſt undaunted and preſent Mind, being followed by the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Buckingham*, and Sir *Alexander Forbes*, at the Head of his Foot. At the firſt charge he beat the Van and made himſelf Maſter of the Artillery; but afterwards, though with wonderful Sagacity he gave orders in the heat and confuſion

Middleton in the night time Sallies out upon the Enemy,

To his loſs.

The King *himſelf marches out to defend* Powick-*bridge.*

Which the Enemies poſſeſs themſelves of.

There is a ſharp engagement at Perry-wood, *where the King behaved himſelf moſt valiantly:*

But being overpowered by number,

confusion of the Fight, fac'd the greatest dangers with a High and Steady Mind, not to be matched by others; and with his own Hand did many brave Actions, though at that time he gave illustrious proofs of his Personal Valour even in the Judgment of his Enemies; yet being overpowred by fresh Men, whom *Cromwell* in great numbers sent in, he despaired not, but that he might reserve himself for better Fortune, thought it best to retreat in time, and save himself in the Town; but he was for some time stopt by a Wagon laden with Ammunition, which the Wheel being accidentally broken, lay cross *Sudbury-Gate*. However, alighting from his Horse, he went in on Foot; and presently mounting another, he used all manner of perswasions to encourage the Souldiers who now were giving over to renew the Engagement; till the danger growing greater and greater, by St. *Martins-gate* he went out to the Horse, Commanded by *David Leslie*, being almost whole entire, and directed his course towards *Barbon-bridge*, earnestly entreating the Horse that they should take Courage, and hasten to the Assistance of the Foot, who were put to utmost extremity. But many refused, some threw away their Arms, all slunk away and chose rather to decline the danger, than by fighting stoutly, either make that the last day of their Life, or the first of their Victory. But whil'st the *King* is making his escape, the Earl of *Cleveland*, Sir *James Hamilton*, Colonel *Careliss* and some other worthy and Loyal Gentlemen, with the remains of the Horse, renewing the fight at *Sudbury*-Gate, put a stop to the Enemy for some time, till *Fleetwood* on the *West*-side having past the River,

He returns into the Town.

Where in vain encouraging his Men now in disorder, he slips out at St. Martins *Gate. He exhorts the Horse to renew the Fight; but they are deaf to all entreaties.*

ver, broke into the Town through the Suburbs of St. *John*; and *Cromwel*, having thrown down *Sudbury*-gate, beat off the Earl and the reſt. From thence he marched on victorious to the *Fort Royal*, maintained by Colonel *Drummond* with fifteen hundred Soldiers; who having refuſed to ſurrender it, was Attacked on all Hands, and cut off with all his Men. Deplorable and ſad was the Countenance of the Town after that: The *Victorious Souldiers* on the one Hand, Killing, breaking into Houſes, Plundering, Sacking, Roaring and Threatning; on the other hand, the *Subdued* flying, turning their backs to be cut and ſlaſht, and with ſtretched out hands begging Quarters; ſome in vain reſiſting ſold their lives as dear as they could; whil'ſt the *Citizens*, to no purpoſe, prayed, lamented and bewailed. All the Streets are ſtrowed with dead and mangled Bodies. Here were to be ſeen ſome that begg'd Relief; and there again others weltering in their own gore, who deſired that at once an end might be put to their lives and miſeries. The Dead Bodies lay unburied for the ſpace of three days or more, which was a loathſome ſpectacle, that encreaſed the horrour of the Action.

The Town is taken, and the Fort Royal, the Soulders that kept it being put to the Sword.

Three thouſand and five hundred Private Souldiers were ſlain. Duke *Hamilton* having his Thigh broken, lived but four or five days after the Battel. *Forbeſs* was ſhot through both his Legs. Five thouſand were taken Priſoners, ſome *Towns-people*, but moſt *Scots*; amongſt whom were the Earls of *Rothes*, *Karnewath*, *Kelly*, the Lord *Sinclare*, *Montgomery*, the General of Artillerie, as alſo of *Engliſh*, Colonel *Graves*, and *Fanſhaw* Secretary to the King, with the Officers of the *Scots* Army, all the Baggage, and an hundred and five and fifty Colours.

The number of the ſlain,

And Priſoners.

The

The King leaving the Scottish *Horse, betakes himself to By ways.*

The *Kings Majesty* having a little beyond *Barbon*-bridge left *Leslie*, who resolved to march with the Horse that were almost entire, by *Newport* streight into *Scotland*, and being attended by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Derby* and *Lauderdale*, the Lords *Wilmot*, *Talbot* and other Persons of Qualitie, with about fifty Horse, followed By-ways; partly that he might refresh himself with sleep, and partly that he might disappoint those that pursued him. Upon their Journey, the Earl of *Derby* told the *King*, That lately when he was defeated by *Lilburn*, one *Pendrel* harboured him safely in *Boscobel*-house; but that he was a Papist. Thither the King resolved to betake himself. This House is distant from *Worcester* twenty six Miles, stands in *Shropshire*, upon the borders of *Staffordshire*; seated betwixt *Tong*-Castle and *Brewood* in a woody place very fit for a retreat. One *Gifford* that was well acquainted with the Ways, leaving *Kedderminster* on the Left-hand, conducted him by *Stonebridge*; and at *Whiteladies* an old Monasterie of *Cistertian* Nuns in the midst of the Woods, about a Mile from *Boscobel*, having knockt up another *Pendrel* about midnight, he and his Company are let in. Whilst the King had his Hair cut off in this House, and burnt in the Fire, his Hands blackned with Soot, and shifting his Cloaths put on an old Countrey Suit, two other *Pendrells* Brothers, *Richard*, who lived in a Neighbouring little Farm at *Hobbal*, and *William* in *Boscobel*, are sent for, whom the Earl of *Derby* acquainting them with the disaster, and shewing them the *Kings Majesty, Beseeches for Gods sake their Loyalty, and all that was Good and Sacred, to keep him safe, and forthwith find out some place for him where he might securely lurk.* The

And at the perswasion of the Earl of Derby, *goes towards* Boscobel.

When they came to the House called Whitladies.

He commits himself to the biding of the Pendrels *Brothers.*

The honeſt Countrey-men promiſing to do what lay in their Power; *Richard* by a back door led him out into the next Wood; *Wilmot* having been before ordered to go on Horſeback to *London*, where at the ſign of the *Green Dragon* by the *Vintry* in *Thames-ſtreet*, the King had reſolved to meet him; John *Pendrell* promiſing to ſhew him a way which he might more ſecurely follow.

Wilmot *being before ſent to* London.

After that the *Nobles* had taken the beſt care they could of the King, they conſult about their own ſafety, and think it ſafeſt to follow, and if they could overtake *Leſlie*, becauſe of the number of men he had with him, that might ſecure them from a few ſtragling Soldiers, and becauſe they were got ſo far on their way, that a conſiderable body of the Rebels could hardly overtake them. They were not far from thence, when they protected the Lord *Livingſtone*, Captain of the King's Troop of Guards, from the Enemies that purſued him; but that good fortune laſted not long: For ſoon after, when they had advanced beyond *Newport*, they fall in amongſt *Lilburn*'s men, who eaſily rout and put them to flight, being quite ſpent with fatigue; the Earl of *Derby* (whom the impious Rebels afterwards condemned in a Council of War, and put to Death), *Lauderdale*, (who for his Loyalty ſuffered a tedious Impriſonment, until the *King*'s *Reſtauration*) and others, whom it would be long to name, being taken. In the mean time the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Livingſtone*, *Talbot*, with many others, ſeverally ſhifting for themſelves, made their eſcapes, and at length went beyond Sea.

Whilſt the Nobles eſſay to overtake Leſly.

They are diſperſed by Lilburn's *men*, Derby *and others being taken.*

Nay *Leſly* was not got far beyond *Newport*, when he is beſet by the Enemies, and all his men either

Leſly *and his men, became a prey to the Enemy.*

either dispersed or taken; and particularly, the Earl of *Cleveland*, who had overtaken *Lesly* after the Battel, *Kenmore*, the Lord *Wentworth* and *Middleton*. Most of the dispersed straglers were by the Countrey people, not without a brand of Cruelty, which the *English* Nation abhors, knockt down, wherever they were found, with Staves, Pitch-forks, Flails, and what weapons rage and fury put into their hands; a very unsuitable return, indeed, to the moderation and continence, which not long before, they had shewed amongst them upon their march. *Massey*, being wounded in the hand, fled of his own accord to the protection of the Countess of *Stanford*; under whose husband, the father of *Gray*, he had formerly served in *Gloucestershire*. From thence after a fortnights stay, he was carried to the Tower of *London*, where he endured the irksomness of a tedious imprisonment, and being to be brought to his Tryal before the High Court of Justice, he changed Cloaths with a certain Porter, and made his escape.

Or (what was worse) to the Countrey People.

Massey yielding himself to a noble Lady, is

Cast into the Tower of London:

From whence he escapes in disguise.

The Kingdom of *Scotland* thus taken, and most part of the *Nobility* cut off, truckles under the Victorious Arms of the *English*; and had not the Supreme Judge of all things reserved a root, from which the *Royal* Issue and cause might spring out again of new, and had not the same right hand of the Duke of *Albemarle*, (whom as yet we must call *Monck*,) that gave the Wound, also wrought the Cure, it had been undone for ever.

A full account where the King lurked in England.

But now what befel the King, *the Care of Providence*, Hopes of the *English* Race, and Defender of the *Church*, since the *English*, I know, are insatiably desirous to be informed of it, and

that

that hardly in any Age a more remarkable adventure hath happened, I ſhall, according, as I have heard it from the *King's* own Mouth, relate with ſome exactneſs and curioſity.

The King went into the Wood in the very nick of time, as will appear. For within leſs than half an Hour, the Souldiers of Colonel *Aſhenhurſt* come in queſt of him, hunt all over the Monaſtery, and running from Chamber to Chamber, ſearch into all ſecret places, receſſes, and hidden corners. Yet, as Fate would have it, they made no enquiry abroad out of the Houſe, for it rained all Day, and the droppings from the Trees made the Graſs very wet; ſo that what did hurt to others, ſaved the *King*. For whilſt he lurked amongſt the thick ſhrubs of the Woods, *Richard Pendrell* borrowed a Blanket for him to cover him in the Rain, and furniſhed him with a Bill, that he might ſeem buſie in mending Hedges, entreating the Wife of a Countrey-man, one *Francis Yates* that was related to him, that if ſhe had any Victuals ready ſhe would bring it into the Wood. She without delay brings forth ſome Milk and Sugar, with a few Eggs and Butter. The *King* ſomewhat ſtartled at the coming of the Woman, becauſe of the babling the Sex is ſubject to, asked her, *Can you be true to any one that hath ſerved the King? Yes, Sir*, anſwered ſhe, *I'le die ſooner than betray you*. At which the King, being reaſſured, fed heartily on the Victuals that were brought him.

Aſhenhurſt's Souldiers ſearch the Monaſtery.

A Countrey-man's Wife brings Victuals into the Wood for the King to feed upon.

Towards the Evening, *Richard* brings him into his Houſe that ſtood hard by, where he prepares for a New Journey, that he was to take that Night. For the King amongſt other things had asked, If he knew any Faithful,

In the Evening he comes to Richard Pendrell's Houſe;

Honeſt Man living upon the *Severn*, who might provide him a hiding place for a ſhort ſpace, till he might find an opportunity of paſſing over into *Wales*; for in that Country he wanted not Faithful Friends, by whoſe means he might either get to *London*, or lurk more ſecurely amongſt the Rocks and Mountains. Being therefore informed of one *Wolfe* (but a Papiſt by Religion) living at *Madely*, five Miles from thence, and one from the *Severn*, at nine of the Clock at Night, accompanied with *Richard*, he ſets out to go thither. But they were hardly gone the firſt mile, when they had a Water-mill to paſs by, where they muſt croſs the River on a Wooden Bridge: The Gate which they opened making a noiſe, the Miller comes out, and in a threatning tone asks them whither they were going ſo late at Night; and bids them ſtand. *Pendrell* terrified by that unexpected thunderclap, leaving the Bridge, haſtily wades through the Water, and is followed by his Auguſt Companion, who in the thick darkneſs, was not ſo much guided by his ſight, as by the ratling of his Leathern Breeches. The Purſive Fat Miller ſoon gave over the purſuit; and the reſt of the way was free from danger.

From thence intending to go into Wales.

That Night he goes on Foot towards the Severn, Richard Pendrell *being his Guide: He is frighted by a Miller.*

At length they come to *Madely*, where *Pendrell* knocking at the Door, is preſently let in. The Gueſt is kindly received by *Wolfe*, who being acquainted with the deſign, lodges him in the Barn, becauſe in the day time his Houſe was ſeldom free from Souldiers. They ſend to be enformed of an opportunity of paſſing the River, and have news brought back, that not only the Bridges are guarded by Souldiers, but alſo the Ferry-Boats moſt ſtrictly obſerved, and therefore

At Madely *he is lodged in a Barn,*

therefore it would be very difficult and unsafe to pass the River. When it was night he was received into the House, where the good Woman stained his Hands and Face somewhat more with a Decoction of Galls, and having taken his leave, he returns back the same way on Foot to *Boscobel*, there to stay for a more commodious opportunity of travelling.

The River being strictly guarded, he returns into the Wood from whence he came.

Being come back before Day, he tarried in the Wood, till *Richard* went to see if any Souldiers were in *Boscobel* House; but he finds none there save Colonel *Carlos*, whom we mentioned before to have, with others, kept the *Cromwellians* in Play at *Sudbury*-gate, who being born thereabouts, was just come to a Friends House, to beg a little Bread. *Carlos* being informed who lay hid in the Wood, with the two *Pendrells* went streight out to him, and after joyful Congratulations on all hands, they conduct him into the House; but the Sand that was got into his Shoes, whilst he ran through the River, had rub'd the Skin off, and fetch'd Blood from his Feet, which a poor Woman cured by washing them. Then both being refreshed with Countrey-fare, they forthwith return back into the Wood; where climbing up to the top of a thick and leafy Oak, they spend the Day there: The *King* after long watching falling fast asleep upon the Arms and in the Bosom of *Carlos*. At Night they come down, and, being very hungry, return to the House, where they were shew'd a Place called a *Priests-hole*, almost unscrutable, which pleased the King so well, that whilst he stay'd there he would trust himself no more abroad.

Early in the Morning he is by Carlos *brought into* Boscobel-*house.*

Having taken refreshment, he climbs up upon an Oak.

In the Night time he is hid in a Priests-hole.

Humphrey, another of the five Brothers of the *Pendrells*, who kept a Mill hard by, had gone

to *Sheffual* to pay his Aſſeſſment; where, in the Houſe of Captain *Broadway* Collector of the Money, he accidentally met with an *Oliverian* Colonel, who very earneſtly ſought after the King; and hearing that this Countrey-man lived near the Abbey of *Whitladies*, he asked him if he knew any thing of the King, or of the Abbey: adding, *That if any would diſcover him, he might gain a thouſand pounds Sterling; but that if he were found to have concealed, or hid him, he would undoubtedly ſuffer death for it.* Yet honeſt *Humphrey*, preferring the ſafety of the King, and his own honeſty before any hopes of gain, faithfully kept Counſel, and made anſwer, that he knew nothing. When he returned home at Night, he relates the whole matter to the *King*, who the next Day, being *Sunday*, ſpent a great part of the Day in an Arbour adjoyning the Houſe in reading the Scriptures.

Pendrell *the Miller being asked concerning the King.*

Preſerved his Loyalty unviolated.

In the mean time *John Pendrell*, when he was ſhewing the Lord *Wilmot* his way to *London*, found it every where ſo peſtered with Souldiers, that he thought it ſafeſt to hide him and his Horſe in a Marle-pit, until he could find out a more commodious lurking place; and at length he happily committed him to the truſt of *Whitgrave* and *Hudleſtone*, (though both Roman Catholicks) *Hudleſtone* being Tutor in the Houſe to Mr. *Whitgrave*'s three Sons. Theſe having in the Night time ſent the Horſe to Colonel *Lane*'s, their intimate acquaintance, who had formerly ſerved the *King*, Hoſpitably entertained *Wilmot* at *Moſely*. The *King* having notice of this from *John* at his return, he forthwith ſends him back to find out *Wilmot*, who had before changed his Lodging, and removed to *Bentley*, the Houſe of Colonel *Lane*: Being

Wilmot *coming out of a Marle-pit, is committed to the care of* Whitgrave.

ing found there at length, and acquainted with the Kings mind, he promiſes next night to return and meet the King at *Moſely*, five miles diſtant from *Boſcobel*. *John* being come back to *Boſcobel*, the King reſolved to go thither and ſee *Wilmot*: But the unlucky rubbing off the skin of his feet, which we mentioned, made him unable to walk it a foot. Therefore mounting the Miller *Humphrey*'s Beaſt, upon an old coarſe Saddle, and bidding farewel to *Carlos*, he goes to *Moſely*, the four *Pendrels* and *Francis Yates* being his Guard. Whither ſo ſoon as he was come, he diſmiſſed the countrey-men with many promiſes, which have been ſince largely performed.

To viſit whom the King, mounted on a Millers Beaſt, goes to Moſely.

Then did *Whitgrave* and *Hudleſtone* conduct him to *Wilmot*, with whom having had a long conference about his Affairs, and taken ſome refreſhment of food, he was led into a private Chamber to repoſe himſelf and ſleep. But next day *Whitgrave* had ſome notice, that Soldiers were coming to ſeize him, as one that had formerly ſerved in the King's Army. And ſo, indeed, they came, yet he being innocent would not avoid them; but the King ſlipping into a private place, and the doors being all inſtantly opened, he confidently ſpeaks to them; and by the teſtimony of Neighbours, and other Arguments, ſo clearly convinced them of the contrary of what they ſuſpected, that without ſo much as coming up the ſtairs, of their own accord they left him, without any further diſturbance.

Soldiers come to ſeize Whitgrave,

And depart.

The ſame day Soldiers make a new ſearch in the *Abbey*, having been informed by an *Enſign* who was made Priſoner, that the King certainly abſconded there; *for that he had ſeen him with*

The King is again ſearched after in the Abbey.

ſome other Company arrive there, and that he had obſerved no ſuch perſon depart from thence. They therefore break into all the Rooms, ſearch every Chamber, Cloſet, and Corner; break down the Waneſcot and partition walls, and ſeek in every little hole, but in vain. Then they examine the Maſter of the Houſe, with a charged Musket cockt at his Breaſt; threatning him, that if he did not forthwith bring forth the King, he ſhould die upon the ſpot. But he abſolutely denies that he knew the King; yet confeſſed that many came to his houſe that night, who havingeat up all his Victuals went off again. The Soldiers there upon turning to the *Enſign*, ſoundly banged him for telling a lye.

The night following *his Majeſty* having drawn a Bill of Exchange upon a Merchant in *London*, for Money to be payed to his Landlord, that if it ſhould come to the knowledge of the *Parricides*, that he had been harboured in that houſe, he with the reſt concerned might have wherewithal to ſhift for themſelves, and get beyond Sea, took his leave of *Whitgrave*, his Wife, and *Hudleſtone*; and committed himſelf and *Wilmot* to the protection of Colonel *Lane*, to be conducted to *Bently*. Where his ſiſter *Jane Lane* undertook to carry him to *Briſtol* where he hoped he might have a paſſage; having in this manner laid her deſign. She procured from a certain Colonel of the Rebels, a paſsport for her ſelf, a Gentleman and his Wife, with one Servant, mounted upon two Horſes, that they might ſafely and without moleſtation travel to the houſe of one *Norton* near *Briſtol*, whoſe Wife was ready to lye in. Her ſiſter *Jane* muſt needs be at her Labour; and could not have better Company to go along with her, than her Couſin and her

He removes to Bently, *from thence to go to* Briſtol *as the ſervant of* Jane Lane.

her Husband; which was a Scheme very well contrived. Without more delay, the *King* mounts on Horſe-back, riding before *Jane* as her Servant. *Laſſels*, her Couſin, with his Wife follows after: *Wilmot* rides before with a Hawk on his Fiſt, as a ſtranger who had accidentally met them on the Rode; reſolving ſo ſoon as they came near *Briſtol*, to ſtrike off to the houſe of his friend Sir *John Winter*, there to expect the Iſſue of things. The deſign being thus laid, in a good time they ſet forward upon their Journey.

He ſets forth upon his journey, accompanied with Laſſels *and* Wilmot,

The firſt remarkable accident that happened, was at *Bromſgrove*; for the King's Horſe loſing a Shoe, *His Majeſty* was to carry him to a Smith to be ſhod. The *King* asking him, *what News he heard? Nothing*, anſwered he, *but that* Cromwell *had routed the Scots, and that though all the reſt were ſlain, or taken Priſoners, yet the* King *had made his eſcape. Perhaps*, replied the King, *he has got by by-ways back into* Scotland. *No*, ſaid the Smith, *that is not very likely; he rather lurks ſecretly ſomewhere in* England, *and I wiſh I knew where he were, for I might get a thouſand Pounds by taking him.* After the Horſe was ſhod, the King departed, and upon the Rode, told his Miſtreſs what diſcourſe he had had with the Smith. When they were come near to *Stratford*, they had a mind to board over the River of *Avon*, about a mile below the Town: But drawing nearer, they perceived Soldiers Horſes feeding in the Meadows, and the Troopers lying upon the ground, on the other ſide. There they conſult what was beſt to be done. The King was for going confidently on; but *Laſſels*, thinking ſtill on the Injury which he had lately received from the Soldiers, thought it ſafer to

At Bromſgrove *he falls in diſcourſe with a Smith about himſelf.*

turn

turn aside to the next Town; the King yielding to his fear, whilst they rode along the Streets, they met the same Soldiers whom they had avoided; yet without the least molestation, they civilly giving hat for hat. At night they came to the Crown in *Cirencester*, where the King pretending himself sick, went presently into a Chamber. Next Evening they came to *Marsfield*, where they lodged at a Relations of *Jane*'s. On the third day, leaving *Bristol* three Miles to the left, they arrived at *Norton*'s house; where *Jane* caused a Bed to be made in a private Chamber for the King, who she said, was the Son of one of her Father's Tenants, and was sick of an Ague, getting Doctor *Gorge* to give him somewhat for his Distemper.

At Stratford *he passes through Soldiers without any hurt.*

Lodges at Cirencester,

Then at Marsfield, *and the third day at* Norton, *where he pretends himself sick.*

As he came out of his Chamber in the morning, *Gorge* asked him, *what he heard of the* King *and of the Battel?* But seeing he faultered in his Answer, *I am afraid*, says he, *you are a Roundhead*; *but I will try what Metal you are made of*; and taking him presently into the Buttery, he drinks to him the *King's Health* in a Glass of Wine, which the King pledging, assured him that he never was a man of that Stamp. The morning following, the King eating a piece of Bread and Cheese in the Buttery, fell into discourse with a bragging fellow there present, who boasted that he had been at *Worcester* fight, and talked largely of many things that happened there. Says the King to him, *Have you ever seen the King? Twenty times*, answered he; *What kind of man is he then?* Then looking on the King more steadfastly, *He is*, said he, *four fingers breadth taller than you.* Afterwards taking off his hat to the Mistress of the House, as she accidentally past through the Parlour. The Butler

And is visited by Doctor Gorge

In the Buttery he discourses with a bragging fellow about the King.

Butler eying him more attentively, and obſerving his Countenance, ſuſpected him to be the King, and finding a private occaſion fell upon his Knees, asking him if it were not ſo. The King enjoining him ſilence, confeſſed he was. This man's name was *John Pope*, who five years before had been a Soldier under his *Majeſty* in the Weſt, when he was *Prince of Wales*; and being afterwards disbanded, he had ſerved ſeveral Maſters, before he came to be Butler to this *Norton*; from that time forward, he performed a great many good Offices to his *Majeſty* with extraordinary Fidelity. For firſt he was ſent to *Briſtol* to find out a Ship: But could find none there that within a Month was to ſail either to *France* or *Spain*. Whilſt he diſcourſed with the King of ſeveral that had ſerved his Majeſty, he pitched upon one *Windham*, whom he thought fit to try in the preſent ſtreights, and who lived at *Trent* in *Dorcetſhire*.

He is diſcovered by the Butler,

A moſt faithful man;

Wilmot coming, as it had been agreed upon, to *Norton*'s Houſe, is by night introduced to the King by *Pope*, and, after they had conſulted together, preſently ſent to *Trent*, to enquire if *Windham* could receive and conceal the King in his houſe, until he might find an opportunity of a paſſage over Sea. *Windham* preſently made anſwer, that he thought himſelf extremely happy, that amongſt ſo many Noble and Loyal Subjects, he reckoned him chiefly worthy of that honour: That he was therefore ready not only to venture his Life, Family, and Eſtate, but even to ſacrifice all to his Majeſties Service. But withal begs leave to impart the ſecret not only to his Mother and Wife, but alſo to four Servants, of whoſe faithfulneſs both to his *Majeſty* and himſelf he was fully aſſured. *Wilmot* conſented,

By whoſe means Wilmot *is introduced.*

He ſounds Windham's *mind,*

With good ſucceſs.

consented, and assuring him that the *King* would be there three days after, he returned.

But the night before, *Norton*'s Wife was brought to Bed, after a hard and dangerous Labour, and was not to be left by her Sister, (for so she called *Jane*) in that Condition. That she might therefore have a civil pretext of departing, a Letter is pretended to have been just then brought from her Aged and Decrepit Father; wherein he acquaints her, that *since her departure he had been grievously ill, and that he stood in need of her present assistance*; he therefore bids her, *if she tendered her Father's Life, to hasten home.* The Letters being produced, and the Rumour spread over the Family, *Jane* and *Lassels* take their farewel, leaving his Wife with the Lady in the straw, and with their Servant, whom the *Kings Majesty* personated, they depart. *Rogers*, who by by-ways had conducted *Wilmot* from *Winter*'s house to *Nortons*, was their Guide; and they lodged the first night at *Carew-Castle* seven miles on this side *Trent*. The appointed hour of their coming drawing nigh, *Windham* and his Wife, as if to take a walk, went out to meet them; and send the King privately into the house, by one whom they had chosen for that purpose: *Jane* and *Lassels* in the mean time are publickly received as Relations, who coming from a place far distant, were to be gone next day. In this place the *King*'s *Majesty* stayed securely nineteen days, expecting a Vessel at leisure, and having been several times disappointed. But one day it happened that the Countrey People fell to ringing of Bells, with more than usual Solemnity; and the King, enquiring into the cause of this extraordinary rejoycing, was told, that it was for the joyful News of the King's Death,

Jane counterfeits Letters as from her dying Father.

For a pretext of departing late at Night.

They go to Carew-Castle,

And next day to Trent, where Windam *lived.*

A report of the King's *Death.*

Death, which was confidently reported. But whilſt they conſulted, and caſt about a long time concerning a paſſage, *VVindham* bethought himſelf of one *Elden* a Merchant, formerly a Captain under *CHARLES the Firſt*, who ſince that, drove a conſiderable trade at *Lime*, that he poſſibly might procure a Veſſel, ſince he had aſſiſted the *Lord Berkley* in diſtreſs with a ſafe paſſage. Therefore *VVindham* is diſpatched to him to learn, whether or not he could procure a ſafe paſſage for *VVilmot*, and another Nobleman, who had made their eſcape from *VVorceſter* fight. He readily liſtened to it, and preſently went to *Chayermouth*, near to *Lime*; where having ſent for the Maſter of a Ship, he asked him, under promiſe of ſecreſie, if he durſt venture to carry *VVilmot* and his ſervant ſafely over to *France*. He undertook it, and bargains with a Captain for threeſcore Pound, which he obliged himſelf under Hand and Seal to pay him, after he had carried a Nobleman over to *France*. The hour and day, when he was to put them on Board in a Boat, are prefixed.

Elden *freights a Ship at* Chayermouth.

Hitherto all things ſucceeding according to their expectation; there only wanted a pretext of ſtaying in Lodgings, till all things might be made ready for their paſſage. For that end *Henry Peters*, *VVindham*'s Servant, who was privy to the deſign, applies himſelf to an Hoſteſs at *Chayermouth*, and, amongſt other diſcourſes, told her that he was ſervant to a worthy Nobleman, who was deeply in Love with a Maid that had neither Father nor Mother, who lived not far off, and was as much in Love with him: But that her Guardian oppoſing the Marriage, he reſolved to ſteal her away by Night. He therefore asks her, if ſhe would for ſome hours entertain

Peters's *device whereby he provides lodgings in that place.*

tertain them in her house; and at the same time gives her a small Gift as a pledge of a greater reward, and drinks a Glass of Wine with her. The woman softned by the present, and touched with Compassion for the young Lady, promises to serve them. Leaving therefore *Trent*, the King sets out towards *Chayermouth*, with *Juliana Conisbey* his pretended Bride, who was privy to the matter, riding behind him upon the same Horse. The *Lord Wilmot*, Colonel *Windham*, and *Henry Peters* accompany them; and were met by *Elden*, who carried them into a private house, whither he went under pretext of viewing a little Farm: Here the *King*'s *Majesty* discovered himself unto him, giving him a small present as an earnest of future Gratitude. From thence the Merchant goes to *Lime*, that he might give notice to the Master of the Ship, to be in readiness to put to Sea at the appointed time; The King with the rest went to their Lodgings at *Chayermouth*; and *Peters* to stay for the Boat. But having waited till it was almost day, he returned without any News of the arrival of the Boat. This put them all into disorder; and made them think of taking other measures, there was no safe place here to stay in; and the King was resolved not to loyter a moment.

The King *goes thither, carrying* Juliana Conisbey *with him as his Bride.*

But losing hopes of a Ship, he presently departs

After a short consultation, the King with *Juliana*, and the Colonel accompanying them, advance towards *Bridport*, there to expect the coming of the Lord *Wilmot* and *Peters* in an appointed Inn. *Peters* being to go to *Lime* to learn from the Merchant the reason of the disappointment: And *Wilmot* staying behind in the Inn, upon pretext of new shooing his Horse. But *Elden* the Merchant, who thought

that

that by this time they had made half their Voyage, could not imagine the reaſon of the breach of promiſe, nor could he attribute it to any thing elſe, ſave that the man taking his leave of his Friends, it being then the Market-day at *Lime*, had drank ſo much as to make him forget the prefixed time. But it was known afterward, that the Maſter of the Veſſel being come home, to take clean Cloaths and other neceſſaries for his Voyage with him, was locked up in his Chamber, and bolted in by his Wife: For that very day a Proclamation had been made in the Town, whereby *it was declared Death for any Perſon to aid or conceal the* King; *and a thouſand Pounds promiſed to any that could apprehend him.* This put the woman into ſo great fear, leſt her Husband in doing that Office, which he had confeſſed to his Wife to have taken upon him, might ſuffer Shipwrack on Shore: She therefore uſed Entreaties, Tears, and almoſt Violence, to hinder him from it; and at length ſcreamed out, thereby to allarm the Neighbourhood. Being therefore overcome by ſo much importunity, he kept at home, and committed himſelf to the direction of his Wife.

Why the Maſter of the Veſſel failed ſo foully.

Upon the way to *Bridport VVindham* went a little before the King, to view the Rode; and coming near the Town, he found it to be full of Soldiers. For there was a Muſter that day, and a taking on of Soldiers, for an Expedition againſt the Iſle of *Jerſey*, under *Haines*. *VVindham* was therefore for the Kings going to another place, but he laying aſide all fear would needs enter the Town, leſt he might ſeem to have deceived *VVilmot*, and partly alſo that he might refreſh himſelf, tir'd out with night-watching and travelling, and wait for the coming of *VVilmot*.

They came to Bridport *full of Soldiers.*

VVilmot. The *Colonel* took care to provide a Chamber and Victuals; which was no easie matter to be done amongst so many Guests. The King, in the mean time was employed in carrying the Horses into the Stable, and looking after them; nor could he avoid talking with the Soldiers in the yard about his Journey. But the Hostler looking him in the face as he deliver'd him the Horses, told him, *You are welcome; I know you very well. Where did you know me?* answered the King. *At Exeter*, said he; (for the King had continued long there during the heat of the War,) *I lived two years in an Inn there. And so did I*, replied the King, *in the Service of Master* Porter. *I am glad I have met with a Country-man; but I perceive you are so busie that you have no time to drink with me, when I come back from* London, *we'll talk of old Stories.* Being pleased with these promises, and full of Business, or God Almighty casting a Mist before his Eyes, he forbore all farther discourse.

Where the King *was very near discovered by an Hostler.*

Shortly after, *VVilmot* passing through the Town, they take Horse, and following the streight Rode to *London*, they met with several Travellers in the way; and amongst those one who had formerly been a Servant to *CHARLES the First*: Therefore thinking it most convenient to turn out of the Rode, they followed the next way upon the left hand; and having rid a long time, towards night they came to a Village called *Broad-windsor*. *Windham* goes before to enquire where they were; what the name of the Village was, and whither the way led: And by good luck he stumbled upon an Inn-keeper an old Servant of his own, who had been also a Soldier in the Kings Army, pleased with this good Fortune, he speaks him kindly;

From thence, as good luck would have it, to Broad-VVindsor.

and

and because it grew dark he easily obtained Lodging that night for his Company. However it was not long before the Constable came with forty Soldiers at his back, who marching to the Sea Coast to be transported over to *Jersey*, must be quartered there. The House being pestered with them, the *Kings Majesty* had but a very narrow Lodging, yet that was not all the inconvenience. For about midnight a Woman that followed the Soldiers fell into Labour: Which being noised about, the People of the Village flock'd together, and kept a bawling and heavy rout about the keeping of the Child and Mother, which continued till break of day, when the Soldiers, weary of the jangle, hastened to their Ships.

Where he is disquieted by Soldiers quartering there,

And the Country People.

During the hubbub, let us look back a little to *Chayremouth*, where the Shoeing of a Horse went near to have cost the Lord *Wilmot* dear, by a discourse started betwixt the Smith and the Hostler. The Smith asking, *From whence came these Gentlemen? From* Exeter, *as they say*, answered the Hostler. To whom the Smith replied, *but I dare swear these last Shoes were put on in the North.* All other circumstances being considered; to wit, that the Saddles were not taken off in the night time, that, though Travellers, they had sat up all night, and that the Servant went out of the Inn early in the morning, they presently conclude that they were Persons of Quality, who flying, after the late *Worcester* fight, had wandered thither, and that perhaps the King was amongst them. So that the Hostler, hoping to make his Fortune, went to consult the Minister of the place, one *Westley*, a great stickler for the *Regicides*, what he had best to do on this occasion. But neither was it fit to

Wilmot *is in danger at* Chayremouth,

Upon a suspition occasioned by his Horses Shoes.

The Hostler consults the Minister of the place,

disturb him at his Morning Prayers; nor durst the Hostler stay till they were winded out, for fear of losing the Vails he expected from the Gentleman that was upon parting, and therefore returning, without any thing done, he lets him go. The Smith having blazed about the story, presently came the Minister, solicitously enquiring of the Inn-keeper, what the Travellers were that he had lodged that night; from whence they came, whither they were going, and what was their Business there? His suspicion being encreased by the Inn-keeper's answers, he runs to *Butler*, the next Colonel, for obtaining a Warrant to raise the Countrey and Soldiers for apprehending the King. The Colonel refusing, Captain *Massey*, quartered hard by, having gathered together as many Horse as he could in the hurry, follows after on the *London* Rode as far as *Dorchester*; but the King, by divine Providence, having quitted the Rode, he returned disappointed of his fair hopes.

Woo having seriously weighed the matter,

He hunts after the King, *tho too late,*

This set all the Soldiers about a working, who search all places and suspected houses, especially that of *Sir Hugh Windham*, Uncle to the Colonel, where they left not a Chest nor corner unsearched, and having made the whole Family Prisoners, they will needs have a young Lady of extraordinary Beauty and Parts to be the King in disguise; nor did they let her go, till by an undoubted experiment they had found out her Sex.

Especially in Sir Hugh Windham's *house.*

The King's steps, however, are to be traced by a surer Guide. For after mature deliberation, it was resolved upon, that he should return to his known recess at *Trent*; and that the Lord *Wilmot* with *Peters* should hasten to *Salisbury*, that there he might advise with *John Coventry*, the eldest Son of the

The King returns to Trent, *having sent* Wilmot *to* Coventry.

the *Lord Keeper Coventry* by a ſecond Marriage, by what means the *King* might either ſecurely paſs the Seas, or at leaſt find a new retirement; for it was to be feared leſt ſtaying too long in one place, he might be diſcovered. After a conſultation with *Coventry*, application is made to one *Mrs. Hide*, a Widow, who lived at a Village called *Heal*, within a mile of *Salisbury*, that ſhe would look out for a lurking place; and *Robert Philips*, who had been a Colonel in the Army of *CHARLES the Firſt*, is ſent to *Southampton* to freight a Veſſel. He, returning from thence, aſſured them that a Ship and all things neceſſary were in readineſs for a Tranſportation. But it fell out unluckily, that the ſame Ship, whilſt the *King* was going to the Widows Houſe, was taken up, and engaged to carry over Soldiers and Ammunition to the Iſle of *Jerſey*. *Philips* being therefore diſappointed of his hopes, begs aſſiſtance of *Colonel Gunter*, whom he met with by chance, in that affair. The *King* in the mean time came to the Widows Houſe in the night time, and goes to Supper, Doctor *Henchman*, afterward Biſhop of *Salisbury*, with other Gueſts, ſitting with him at Table. After Supper, he privately diſcloſed himſelf to the Widow, and entreated ſhelter from her; and though ſhe had never ſeen him before but once, and that ſeven years before in paſſing, yet at firſt ſight ſhe knew him. She therefore adviſes him early in the morning to depart towards *London*, but having turned out of the way, to come back about one of the Clock in the afternoon, at what time he ſhould by a back door be let into the Houſe; for that being a Market day at *Salisbury*, and all her Servants and other Witneſſes being gone thither by

A ſhip freighted at Southampton, *but without Succeſs.*

The King *goes to* Heal.

her permission, she her self would let him in. The thing was accordingly done: For the King and Colonel *Philips*, taking formally leave of the Mistress of the House, mounted on Horseback, and go to see *Stonehenge*; but at the appointed hour returned back again; here the Colonel carrying away the Horses, the King is hid in a secret place, which had been made in the time of the War, for securing of Jewels and Goods of greatest value.

Having taken leave in the morning, he returns back, without the knowledge of the Servants, and is hid.

In the mean time, by means of Colonel *Gunter*, a Vessel was hired at *Bright-helmstead* in *Sussex*; which so soon as the King knew, all things being in a readiness for a departure, his Majesty in good earnest takes leave of the Lady, and in the night time, accompanied by Colonel *Philips*, he removed to the house of one *Simmons*, near *Portsmouth*, and came next day in the Evening to an Inn at *Bright-helmstead*; where all sit down at Table together, the King, *Gunter*, *Wilmot*, *Mansel* a Merchant, and *Tetersal* Master of the Vessel, opposite to the King. The Master of the Vessel, rising from Supper, called the Merchant aside, and expostulated with him for having deceived him, in recommending the King to him, instead of another person pretended. The Merchant confidently denies it, and urges him to be as good as his word. But he affirmed that he knew him for certain to be the King, though in a mean and ordinary habit he past for a Servant, and that he remembred him very well since the time that at his own and others intercession, he had cleared a Fleet of Colliers bound thither from *New-Castle*, which were stopt in the *Downs*. Nor indeed could, or ought the Merchant be ignorant of the *Proclamation*, whereby it was declared Death for any one to

From thence he hastens to Bright-Helmstead, Gunter *having hired a Vessel;*

Where at Supper he is known, by the Master of the Bark.

receive him into house or habour, and the large reward of a Thousand Pounds, promised to him that could discover and apprehend him. *Mansel* perceiving that the man understood the design, immediately addresses himself to the *King*, who being informed of the humour and honesty of the Master, his *Majesty* and *Wilmot* ply him with promises, and give him a considerable Freight in hand. Whereupon, promising to be faithful unto them, he departs to make all things ready for their passage. The Vessel lay at *Shoram* four Miles from thence, as yet half laden with Coals, which he had not sold, most of the Seamen being at *Bright-helmstead*: Those he knocks up in the night time, bidding them make haste to the Vessel, which having slipt its Anchors was at drift, and might be stranded or cast away upon the Rocks, that he himself would presently follow after. In the mean time he orders his Wife to go and buy a Bottle of Brandy, and another of Sack, and to give him clean Cloaths to take along with him. *But why so late in the night?* said she, *would it not do as well in the morning?* He still urging her, and cutting off all delays, *It's the King*, said the Woman, *whom I suspect you are to carry over; Pray God you may carry him safe, though I and my small Children should for ever after go a Begging.* The Inn-keeper also being by that time got drunk, and addressing himself to the *King*, took his hand and kissed it, saying, *Who you are, whence you come, or whither you are going, I know not; yet I pray God he may bless and preserve you: If I guess aright, I shall be an Earl, and my Wife a Countess.* And the Truth is, some discovered it was the King, so that presently after his escape, the News of it was whispered all about the Countrey.

Who being afraid of the Parliaments Proclamation,

With difficulty undertakes the thing,

His Wife, who smelt it out, encouraging him to the business.

Being got on board they coast along the Shore, as bound for the Isle of Wight.

The hour of departure approaching, they take Horse and go to the Shore, the Master pretending that they were Merchants of the Isle of *Wight*, that had bought the rest of the Coals, and that they were to carry them thither. About five in the morning they went on Board, and spent a great part of the day coasting along the Shore. Towards Sunsetting the Master stands off, as directing his course towards the Isle of *Wight*. But *Wilmot*, who appeared to be the chief Passenger, as if his mind had changed with the Wind, after a little squabble with the Master in presence of the Seamen, as it had been agreed upon, altered his bargain, and, instead of the Isle of *Wight*, ordered him to run over to *France*; so that in the dusk of the Evening, they arrived at *Fescam*, an inconsiderable Port in *Normandy*, and at length gained the much longed for Shore. During the passage, the Master wondered that his *Majesty* understood their course better than he himself did. Nor is it to be omitted, what an ignorant Seaman wittily blurted out by chance. The King, whilst the Vessel was under Sail, sitting with the Master in the Cabin, the fellow coming in, claps down by them, and blows the Smoke of his Tobacco in his face: At which the Master being vexed, bid him begone quickly, and not trouble the Gentleman with his Smoke. The fellow rising to go out, in Dudgeon made answer, *That a Cat might look upon a King*; a common Proverb in *England*.

In the Evening they arrive in Normandy.

The King *very skilful in Navigation.*

Now was the *King*'s *Majesty* safely landed in *France*, where rendring first thanks to Almighty God, the Protector and Avenger of all Kings, Lord of the Earth and Sea, who stills the raging of the Winds and Waves, he professes much

gratitude

gratitude to the Master, and kindly invites him to stay with him, and share in his Fortune. But he, wishing his *Majesty* all Prosperity and Happiness, chose rather, with danger, to return home to his Wife and Children. He therefore puts out to Sea again, and the Wind presently turning, he came the same night to *Pool*, a Port in *Dorcetshire*, and there sold his Coals. But the *King* arriving at *Rouen*, applies himself to *Sambourn* and *Parker*, English Merchants, who provide his Majesty with new *Cloathes*, dividing his old ones betwixt themselves, to be kept as Holy Relicts.

The Master of the Vessel being kindly dismissed arrives the same night at Pool.

The King having changed his Cloathes at Rouen,

Doctor *Earl*, since Bishop of *Worcester*, formerly one of his Majesties Chaplains, living then at *Rouen*, came to pay him a Visit; but at first sight knew him not, whether it was that the smuttiness of his Face, or the want of Hair had eclipsed his Majestick looks, or that the amazement of the unexpected sight dulled the Doctors eye-sight: It is certain, that he sought *Charles* in *Charles*, until taking a fuller view of his Sacred Countenance, his Joys grew more certain, and falling down and embracing the Knees of his dearest Master, he begg'd pardon that he had not sooner performed that Duty, and burst out in Tears of obsequious Joy.

Where by chance he found Doctor Earle,

Next day, the News being already carried to *Paris*, the Queen of *England*, and *Duke of Orleans*, with a great Train of Nobility, went out to meet and welcome his *Majesty*, and introduced him into the City amidst the Applauses of the People. All desire to see and embrace him whom Providence had preserved to be the Ornament and delight of Mankind, praying from their hearts, that God would still keep and defend

He goes to Paris;

him for the hope and support of *England*, and bless him with all Blessings.

Thus he escaped safe out of the Snares of his Enemies, by whose means since we *Englishmen* have all triumphed over our Enemies; over whose Sacred Head had not the Angels kept Guard, it had certainly perished. That amongst so many men of *mean Condition*, of so *contrary Religions*, amongst so many Women, naturally given to babling, and so many timorous People, who were frightned at the very name of Death, and, in a word, that amongst so many *broken and indigent* persons, to whom a great reward could not but be acceptable, no body during the space of two Months ever betray'd him, is certainly (if ever there was any) an amazing work of the Hand and Providence of God. And this alone might have been sufficient, to confound the Arrogance of Rebels, who so often boasted of *Providence*; and to teach all Worldlings, by an invincible Argument, how dear to God the safety of his Anointed is.

Whose safety was an illustrious Testimony of Divine Providence.

After the defeat of *Worcester*, *Cromwel* in a Triumphant manner made his entry into *London*, having sent before him five thousand Prisoners; who being sufficiently exposed to the Scoffs and derision of the People, are either clapt up in Prisons, or sent to the *New World*, there to drudge in the *Sugar Mills*.

Cromwell, *having sent the Prisoners before, comes to* London.

In the mean time *Monck*, who was deservedly afterwards Created Duke of *Albemarle*, being made General of the *English* Forces, to the number of six thousand, which *Cromwell* had left behind him in *Scotland*, attacques *Sterling*-Castle, and takes it by surrender, with all the Guns, Ammunition, much Provision, five thousand Arms, the Registers, Coffers, Jewels,

Sterling *Castle surrendered to* Monck.

els, and ſeveral Monuments and Relicks of Kings, together with that lofty Inſcription, *Nobis hæc invicta dedere, centum ſex proavi*; Colonel *Alured* ſurpriſed and took the Aged Earl of *Levin*, the Earl of *Crawford-Lindſey*, Lord *Ogilby*, and many other Noblemen, whilſt they were met for raiſing of Soldiers at *Ellet*, a Town in *Pearthſhire*; Sir *Philip Muſgrave* alſo, the Provoſt of St. *Johnſtone*, and others, being about the ſame buſineſs, are taken at *Dumfriſe*. But *Dundee*, becauſe it had the boldneſs to hold out, was ſtormed and taken by aſſault, and the whole Town left to the mercy of the Soldiers, who kill'd and plunder'd all they found. *Aberdeen*, and other Towns and Forts, being warned by this ſad example, of their own accord yielded to the Enemy.

Noblemen taken by Alured.

Dundee *was a prey to the Conquerour.*

A little after the Marqueſs of *Argile*, made a ſhew of maintaining the Intereſt of the *Kingdom*, as alſo the *Highlanders*, but, having obtained indifferent good Conditions, they alſo yield, and ſubmit their necks to the Engliſh Yoke. Afterward four Citadels are built, ſtrong both by Art and Situation, to which, by Sea, men and Proviſions might eaſily be tranſported from *England*, to wit, at *Air*, *Innerneſs*, *St. Johnſton*, and *Leith*; beſides *Sterling* Caſtle, ſtanding on the Brow of a Hill, and *Edingburrough* Caſtle, which we deſcribed before. Nay in every County they keep a Gariſon in ſome Caſtle or other, that if any new Rebellion ſhould ariſe, they might have opportunity to ſuppreſs it where-ever it happened in *Scotland*. Nor could the main Land of *Scotland* put bounds to the Victory of the *Engliſh*, who ſlighting the dangers of thoſe raging and voracious Seas, carry their Victories over to the Iſles, *Orkney* and *Shetland*.

All Scotland *in the power of the* Engliſh, *who ſtrengthen themſelves by new Citadels.*

And ſubdue Orkney *and the Iſles.*

But

But as when the Serpent is bruised in the Head, he often threatens with his Tail; so the Marquess of *Huntley*, Earls of *Glencairn* and *Athol*, *Middleton*, and others, stir the Embers, and raise new flames of a War. But *Morgan* easily reduced them, having, before they could joyn, routed the chief of them. Henceforward, they who had been accustomed to be most unruly and disobedient, when occasion of Kicking offered, are fain to bite upon the Bit, and upon capitulation promise to live quietly for the future.

The Scots rise, but in vain.

Now are Judicatures and Courts of Justices opened in *Scotland*, for which end, amongst other Itinerary Judges, are sent from *England*, *George Smith*, *John Mars*, *Edward Mosley*, to whom were added of the *Scots*, the *Lord Craighall*, *Lockhart*, and *Swinton*, not to be forgotten. A *Council of State* is also made up of *English*, not of the best Quality, who were matched by some *Scots* mingled with them; nay in every Shire a Meeting is called, wherein, renouncing the King, they are obliged to subscribe to the *English* Government, and to unite into one Common-wealth with the *English*. And at length they are commanded to send thirty Commissioners to the *Parliament* of *England*. Nor is it to be denyed but that they were *English*, though from *Scotland*, who were appointed to that Office, except the Marquess of *Argile* and *Laird* of *Swinton*, which two were the only *Scots* that hearded themselves into that *Parliament*. The use of Arms is likewise denyed to that Nation, nay and of Horses also, except only for some necessary ends and uses. Besides, their Commerce and Negotiations with Foreigners are narrowly

The administration of civil Affairs in Scotland, *by Judges for the most part* English;

And a Council of State.

Thirty Commissioners from thence allowed to sit and Vote in the Parliament of England.

ly obſerved, leſt under that pretext they might hatch miſchief againſt the *Common-wealth of England*. So much they got by diſturbing the quiet of *England*, and by medling in the ſtirs and troubles of others; nay, and by being the Authors of the innumerable Calamities which we ſuffered. *So they fell into the Pit that they dug for us, and were taken in the Snares which they had laid for the Innocent*; nor was there any hopes of a Deliverer, or an Avenger, till God ſhould think fit to look down from his *Mountain*, and having chaſtiſed the perverſeneſs of the People, have Mercy upon them.

The Scots *had what they deſerved.*

But ſo much for *Scotland*; let us therefore leave it, and return to matters that properly concern our ſelves. *Jerſey* muſt now come upon the Stage, for the ſubduing whereof, *Hains*, with great preparations of Soldiers, and all things neceſſary, is empowred; who paſſing over thither with about ſeventy ſail of Ships, great and ſmall, for three days ſpace was beat off from ſeveral places of the Iſland, by Sir *George Cartright* Governour of the Iſland, ſince deſervedly *Under Chamberlain* of the King's Houſhold, though ſooner than was expected, he afterward obtained the Victory: For making a deſcent in the night time, and *Bovil*, who commanded the *Cavalier Party*, doing his utmoſt to hinder the Enemies Landing, being killed in the firſt Encounter; the reſt, ſeized with a ſudden fear and Conſternation, are put to flight. The Inhabitants after that, ſubmitted to the will and pleaſure of their new Maſters; *Elizabeth Caſtle* alſo ſtanding upon a Rock, and at high water encompaſſed by the Sea, being battered and torn with great Guns and Mortar-Peeces, one of which was ſo fatal, as at one

Hains *ſubdues* Jerſey.

blow

blow to kill or mangle eight and forty Soldiers, after two Months siege capitulates, upon Condition, that the Governour and Garison with Bag and Baggage should have liberty to pass over into *France*. Next follows the Isle of *Mann*, this place, though defended by Feminine Valour, to wit, by the Countess of *Derby*, yet vied so much in honour with men, that it was doubtful, whether, in the Royal Cause, Sir *George Cartright*, or she, fell the last Victim under the Hands of the Traytors.

The Isle of Mann *also taken.*

An Act of Oblivion passes

All the Provinces thus subdued, an Act of Oblivion passes, whereby the memory of what was past being abolished, all Crimes whatsoever are pardoned. But this was hampered with so many Limitations, Restrictions, Exceptions, and ensnaring Clauses, that there was little hopes for true Penitents to expect any good from it. But such, however, as it was, *Cromwell* alone was to be thanked for it, by him chiefly it was proposed, and by his means and endeavours it past in the *Rump-Parliament*, that, by so doing, he might by a shew of kindness claw the suffering and vanquished People, and at the same time heap hatred and indignation upon the Heads of his fellow Traytors. *For now*, forsooth, *it was time to put an end to Rapine and Violence. Did they take so much pleasure in undoing Estates, and ruining Families? There was enough allowed to anger and revenge: That it was altogether fit to shew Clemency and Mercy to the Guilty, who having sufficiently payed for their faults, now at length sued for pardon.*

But not without the instance of Cromwell.

The Soldiers displeased with the Rump.

But the hatred and animosities betwixt the *Rump* and the *Soldiers*, the Seeds whereof had been long ago sown, though during the common danger they appeared not, began now to show themselves,

themſelves, and, after long and mutual grudges, to break out into Flames, and to devour one another. *So rare a thing it is for Thieves and Robbers, to agree long together.* The Soldiers object, that theſe men did for ever appropriate to themſelves and their Friends all places of Honour and Command, barring all others from any ſhare with them; and that under colour of the publick good, they divided amongſt themſelves all profitable Offices, without any regard to the Publick. For what end had they taken Arms againſt the King? expoſed their lives to ſo many dangers, ript up the bowels of their Countrymen and friends? Did they bring the King to the Block, (*for in that execrable Villany they triumphed*) that they might only ſettle them in their Seats, ſo as they might ſecurely live at their eaſe for ever, and, right or wrong, domineer over all without any diſtinction, and Murder and Sacrifice to their own private Luſt or Revenge, as many Subjects as they pleaſed? *Away with it*, ſay they, *it were better to return to the old way of Government, Raiſe King* CHARLES *from the Dead, and ſubmit to his Rule, ſeeing it was known that he followed the Laws, and accordingly ſquared the adminiſtration of his Government.* They therefore earneſtly deſire, *That at length an end might be put to the Parliament, a new and fair Repreſentative choſen by the good people, and that the Laws might be reformed*; beſides the many other things which had already ſo often cloyed them with Petitions.

Which with theſe Crimes, they load,

The goodly Warriours made theſe ſpecious demands, not out of a pure zeal for the Publick good; but that having baulked them, by determining their Authority, they themſelves might have their turn in the Government; hoping

As minding onely their own advantages,

hoping that by branding them with these reproachful Characters, they would at length be fain to put the Power into their hands.

The Objections are boldly enough answered.

On the other hand the *Rump-Members*, Magisterially grave, by a long possession of Authority, *bid the Soldiers mind their own Affairs, look to their Arms, and obey Orders, that they, to whom the care of the Common-wealth was committed, and the business of settling a new Government, having long laboured in the Affair, with no small Progress, would at length by the help of God bring it to perfection.* They bid them have a care, *in the mean time, that they make no Tumults, seeing they who had pulled a King from his Throne, wanted neither Resolution nor Force to reduce into order licentious Souldiers, though milder courses were more pleasant to them.*

The Soldiers reply.

But the Soldiers disdaining that they should be thought pragmatical, and medlers in Affairs that did not belong unto them, answer those State-Advisers, *That they were not Mercenary Soldiers, nor had not taken up Arms only in Prospect of pay, but for maintenance of the Publick Liberty, neither would they lay them down till they found the common Fruit of their endeavours. That they ought not to boast of putting the King to Death,* (so they mutually gloried in that Horrid Villany) *since they onely stood by, as in Disguise and Masquerade; but that they by their Valour, and at their own Peril, accomplished the thing, at the mention of which they would have started, had they not been encouraged, and set on by men of the Sword.*

The *Rump*, therefore, being now more afraid of their Servants and idle Soldiers, than formerly of the Royal Enemy, endeavour by all ways to reduce them to Obedience, or at least

fairly

fairly to dismiss and disband them, but still under another pretence, alledging that the *Commonwealth* was not able to entertain so many idle and lazy Soldiers. Wherefore, *under colour of lessening the Charges of the Publick, they pass an Act for Disbanding part of the Army, and the rest to have but half pay, and to be divided and separated in several Countries*; that at once they might secure themselves against the attempts of the *Cavaliers*, and take from their own Souldiers all opportunity of making Innovations.

Of whom therefore the Rump, *under another pretence, order a great part to be disbanded.*

The Soldiers smell out the design, and it prickt them to the heart, that they were now to be cast down from that height, from whence they received plentiful incomes, and almost shared in the Government: They take it very ill to be cut short of their pay, of their domineering, after their accustomed manner, in the Countries, and of making their own advantages in suppressing the beginnings of Sedition. Therefore the Officers refuse to be disbanded, reciprocally pretending the Publick good. They also frame a Petition, such as they had formerly presented, with *proposals* much to the same effect, *and desire a speedier answer*; *nor would they lay down their Arms, before the remnant of the old Parliament being abolish'd, a Representative were lawfully chosen, and that for the greater expedition, some of the Officers of the Army, as Commissioners, should be admitted into the House, or at least sit and debate about the Proposals with the Members of Parliament.* The *Rump* condescending to this, twelve of each party meet and consult in common: Where, *Oliver St Johns*, more skilful than the rest in the Common Law, raising scruples, and perplexing matters that were clear in themselves, so confounded the Rude Soldiers,

The Soldiers refusing, and demanding a new Representative,

An equal number of both consult in common,

But without any Fruit.

diers, that about one word, they spent above two Months.

The Rumpers *are divided about the manner of the* Representative,

These Proposals were also debated in the *Rump*: but since it would be tedious to mention all of them, I shall briefly, onely relate with what sharpness and quite opposite Opinions they clashed about the *Representative*. Some were for shaping it after this manner, some after another, and some after none at all. The *Presbyterians*, who were but few in number, are for having it conform to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, a strict and previous Inquisition being made into the Manners and Religion of the men. The *Utopians* dreamt of, I know not what *Olygarchy* made up of the Godlier Party, winnowed and sifted to the highest Purity. Others were for a kind of *Circulation*, that every one successively and in course might have their turns in the Government. Besides there was no less strife about the *Time*. Some thought it very dangerous, nay, without doubt fatal, to assign any day of dissolution, and to introduce a new Representative. Others would have no such change to be made, but every third, fourth, or fifth year. But those who were in Power, think it safest, that new Members should be chosen in place of those that died or were turned out. And most Votes agreed in this; which they forthwith enacted, though the night before they had privately promised the contrary to the *Officers*, to wit that they would model a new *Representative*.

And about the Time;

Not willing to give the Power rashly out of their own hands.

Cromwell *flying to the House, and objecting to them Misdemeanours and other horrid Crimes,*

So soon as *Cromwell* heard of that, he hastens to the Parliament House, ordering ten or twelve Soldiers to follow him, and stay for him at the door. He himself, accompanied only with *Fleetwood*, entring in: To this purpose spake

ſpake to the Speaker: *You have ſufficiently impoſed upon the People, and provided for your ſelves and Relations; you have long cheated the Country, by your ſitting here under pretext of ſettling the Commonwealth, reforming the Laws, and procuring the Common Good; whilſt in the mean time you have onely invaded the Wealth of the State, ſcrewed your ſelves and Relations into all Places of Honour and Profit, to feed your own Luxury and Impiety.* Then ſtamping with his Foot, which was the Signal to the Soldiers without, *For ſhame*, ſaid he, *get ye gone, give place to honeſter Men, and thoſe that will more faithfully diſcharge their Truſt.* But whilſt all, ſurpriſed by this ſudden Conſternation, held their tongues, one had the boldneſs to tell him, *It ſuits ill with your Excellencies Juſtice, to brand us all promiſcuouſly and in general, without any Proof of a Crime.* At which being a little more heated, taking hold of one by the Cloke, *Thou art a Whoremaſter*, ſays he; to another, *Thou art an Adulterer*; to a third, *Thou art a Drunkard and Glutton*; to a fourth, *Thou art an Extortioner*; And the Muſquetiers ruſhing in, he excludes them all, and commands the Parliament to be diſſolved; whilſt *Harriſon* gently pulled the Speaker out of his Chair, being unwilling to riſe, and ſent him going. So that that vaſt, horrid, and many-headed Monſter, whoſe Bellowing had made all *Europe* to ſhake, is by one ſingle Puff of *Cromwell*'s Breath diſperſed and ſcattered, no body regretting, but rather all the People rejoycing at it. So, *Government baſely got, is baſely loſt.* Nay, to compleat their Puniſhment, they were ridiculed, a Bill being ſet upon the Door, with, *This Houſe is to be Let.* They were alſo Lampoon'd by the Ballad-ſingers about Town, who cried

Commands all to be gone.

And they delaying, by the aſſiſtance of the Soldiers he expelled them the Houſe.

And makes them ridiculous.

publickly about the City, *Twelve Parliament-men for a Peny.* Next day the *Council of State*, and *Privy Council*, are in the same manner sent packing by *Cromwell*, lest, *if any remained, the Rooks might breed again.*

The People rejoycing,

And much applauding him.

By this so acceptable an Action, he so blotted out the Memory of his past *Villanies*, that for a time he was rather look'd upon as a *Saviour*; the Shouts and Bonfires that were made, sufficiently expressing the Joys of the People, for being delivered from so cruel a Yoke. They praise the Freedom the General took, in not fearing to charge his Impotent Masters to their Faces, with the Vices that were publickly talked of; some few in the mean time observing, that whilst he himself now accused those whom before he had commended, he had then preferred such as he might afterwards most justly accuse. For he had so purged the *Parliament*, as casting away the Flower, he had for his own purpose reserved the Bran, to be likewise thrown away when he had a mind to it. The *Rump-Members* loaded with publick Hatred, and sad Hearts, departed home, as they were commanded; for there was a Necessity that they must fall at the Pleasure of those, at whose Pleasure they chose to stand; and since they could not thrive in their Trade, without obeying their Guardians, the Injuries of the Soldiers were to be born with, and onely whispered. But they find no other Patron. The *Publick*, indeed, grieved not at their Disaster, as if the *Office* of the Laws had been shut; but triumphantly insulted over them, as a Den of Thieves now broken up and dispersed.

But the Commonwealth was still reserved to sadder Bondage, *Cromwell* now, as *General of the Army*,

Army, arrogating to himſelf the Supreme Authority. Yet that he might remove all ſuſpicion of any ſuch ambitious Deſign, and render the ſame more ſecure and ſtable by gradual and crafty Inſinuations; as alſo that he might gull the *Democratical Republicans*, it is decreed in a Council of the *Officers*, *That the Supreme Power ſhould be committed to Godly and Pious Men, to the number of an hundred and forty four, during the ſpace of ſix Months; who ſhould have power to moderate, and with ſuch Prudence ſettle all things, that all Sin and Vice being rooted out, Peace and Concord might flouriſh in the Nations.* Therefore the *Officers* of the Army, with Conſent of *Cromwell*, call out of every *County* and *Corporation* a proportionable number of the holieſt Men whom either they knew, or could find out, (the civiller, or rather moſt pragmatical ſort of the Private Soldiers being permitted to name ſome) whom they place at the Helm of Government, to conſult about the difficult Affairs of Three *Kingdoms*: Illiterate Men for the moſt part, and the Off-ſcowrings of the People; and theſe alſo *Bigots*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Fifth-monarchy-men*, *Democraticks*, *Fanaticks*, and, in a word, the moſt villanous Incendiaries of all the Sects. But with thoſe were mingled *Cromwell*'s cunninger Adherents, whom, being moſt obnoxious, he had endeared to himſelf by Favour, that as occaſion offered they might ſway the reſt, and check their mad Counſels.

They conſult, in the mean time, what is fitteſt to be done.

The Officers advance the Godly to the Government.

Choſen from among the Off-ſcowrings of the People, and out of all Sects:

Theſe being met in the Parliament-houſe, their firſt Care is to chuſe one *Rous*, a Smatterer in Letters, for *Speaker*; and then, to give themſelves a Title; which, after much Preliminary Diſpute, was at length concluded to be, *The Parliament of England.* This done, they

Who having choſen a Speaker, Take the Name of The Parliament of England;

ſet to work. But, Good God! what ſtrange Confuſion preſently aroſe? Which *Cromwell* and the other cunning Rogues foreſeeing would undoubtedly happen, laughed in their Sleeve, that they being hampered and entangled in Difficulties, would with uuiverſal Applauſe and Gratulation deliver up to *Cromwell* alone the ſole Adminiſtration of Government.

They reſolved to make way for the *Monarchy* of *Chriſt* upon Earth, propheſying his Perſonal Preſence to be at hand: Therefore they pronounce *Prieſthood* to be *Popery*; paying of *Tythes*, *Judaiſm*; the *Laws of England*, the Remains of the *Norman* Yoke; *Schools* and *Colleges*, *Heatheniſh* Seminaries of curious and vain Learning; *Nobility*, laſtly, and *Honours*, contray to the Law of *Nature*, and *Chriſtianity*: all which they would have wholly aboliſhed, and pluck'd up by the Roots; and without doubt had done ſo, had not the few of Senſe that were amongſt them put a ſtop to it.

And preſently ſhew their madneſs, in falling foul of the Miniſters, Colleges, and Nobility.

However, in effect they aboliſh the Court of *Chancery*, and all the Judicatures that were wont to be kept in *Weſtminſter-hall*. By one or two Acts was that prodigious Parliament renowned: For, Marriage, which from the very Birth of the Church of *England* was never celebrated but by Church-men, they commit to the Care of *Juſtices of the Peace*; as if in an Affair of ſo great moment, there were no need of Solemn Prayers, nor of the Benediction of the Church. They leave alſo the Publication of the *Bans* of Matrimony, which uſed always thrice to be made in time of Divine Service, to the choice of the Parties, either to have it made in the *Church* or *Market-place*. A Regiſter alſo is appointed to be kept, not of the *Chriſtnings*,

They aboliſh all Courts of Juſtice.

Appoint Juſtices of Peace to celebrate Marriage.

Chriſtnings, but of the Birth of Children: ſo that from hence you may gueſs what a kind of new Reformers theſe were.

But when *Cromwell* had ſuffered them to give the People ſufficient Proofs of their Madneſs, and to work Fear and Hatred alſo in their Fellow-Subjects, ſome of them who had more ſenſe, upon a day appointed went with their Speaker to attend him, earneſtly beſeeching him to take upon himſelf the Supreme Authority, now again fallen at his Feet. *Cromwell* made a ſhew of wonder, denying utterly and rejecting it; but at length, with much ado, ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon; but with this Condition, That an Inſtrument or Form of the Thing, under Hand and Seal, ſhould be given him.

The ſounder part deliver up the Government to Cromwell, *who with reluctancy accepts it;*

This being done, though the Inferiour *Officers* of the Army and the *Republicans* were againſt it, who promiſed to themſelves profitable Places under that Government, and a Licencious Liberty of domineering, or at leaſt conſtant and ſtanding Commands in the Army; yet *Lambert*, who at preſent promiſed himſelf the Second Place in the Government, and afterwards the Firſt, hiding a proud Ambition under a Cloke of Humility, by Words, and by his Example, perſuaded the other *Officers* not onely to comply with that *Monarchy*, but alſo to ſtickle for and deſire it. So now the Name of a Commonwealth ſtinks, and the *Popular State*, which heretofore they gloried in, is deſpiſed. The Single Government of One Perſon onely pleaſes them; and, what heretofore they had curſed with ſo many private and publick Imprecations, after a Conſultation with the *Officers*, is declared to be the Government of this Nation.

Lambert *chiefly, and by his perſuaſion the reſt of the* Officers *conſenting.*

But he would be called Protector, *not* King.

tion. Yet *Cromwell* would not accept of it by the Title of *KING*, though he was perſuaded to it by many, leſt he might ſeem to make Shipwrack of all Modeſty, and too openly to prevaricate: But joyning together a *Commonwealth*, and Single Government, which formerly were inconſiſtent, under the Title of *Protector* he takes into his Hands the Reins of *Government*, modelled according to the Conditions of an *Inſtrument*, which here we ſhall inſert.

THE
Inſtrument of Government.

THat the *Supreme Legiſlative Authority ſhould be in a* Single Perſon and the People in Parliament; *but the Adminiſtration thereof to be left to the* Lord Protector *and to his Council, whereof the Number was not to be above Twenty and one.*

That all Charters, Patents, Writs, and Commiſſions, ſhould be paſſed by the Protector: *All Power of Magiſtracy, Honours, and Titles, to be deriv'd from him. Likewiſe the Pardon of all Offences, excepting Treaſon and Murder. He alſo to have the Adminiſtration of all things, with the Advice of his Council, and according to the Tenor of this Inſtrument.*

That the Militia, *ſitting the Parliament, ſhould be in the diſpoſal of the* Protector *and the* Parliament; *but in the Intervals, in the* Protector *and his Council. The Power alſo of making Peace and War with Foreign Princes, to be in the* Protector *and his Council: but he to have no Authority of Repealing or Making any Laws, without the Conſent of Parliament.*

That

That the Parliament ſhould be called before the end of Six Months then next enſuing, and afterwards once in Three years, or oftner if need require; and that it ſhould not be in the Protector's *Power to Diſſolve the ſame for the firſt Five Months, without the Conſent of the Houſe.*

That the Number of Members for England *ſhould conſiſt of full Four hundred, Elected according to an equal Diſtribution: for* Scotland *Thirty, and for* Ireland *the like Number; the Number for each County and City to be alſo aſſigned.*

That the Calling of ſuch Parliament ſhould be under the Seal of the Commonwealth, by Writs to the Sheriff in the Protector's *Name. But if the* Protector *ſhould not call the ſame within the times limited, the Chancellor then to do it, under the Penalty of High Treaſon; and if he ſhould fail therein, then that the Sheriffs ſhould peform it. And after ſuch Election ſhould be made, to be tranſmitted by the Chief Magiſtrate, by Indenture, to the Chancellor, ſigned with his Hand, Twenty days before the Sitting of the ſame Parliament. Alſo if the Sheriff or Mayor ſhould make a falſe Return, that he be fined in Two thouſand Marks.*

That none ſhould be capable to Elect, who had ever born Arms againſt the Parliament, or been Actors in the Iriſh *Rebellion. Nor that any Papiſt ſhould ever be capable to give his Voice. And that all Elections againſt theſe Rules ſhould be void, and the Tranſgreſſors fined at Two years Value of their Revenues, and a third part of their Goods.*

That no Perſon under the age of One and twenty years, ſhould be capable of being Elected; nor any other than of known Credit, fearing God, and of good Behaviour.

No Man likewiſe to have Power of Electing, whoſe Eſtate ſhould not be worth 20 l. *per An. Sterling.*

That the Return of the Perſons Elected ſhould be tranſmitted by Prothonotary in Chancery, unto the Council of State, within two days after they ſhould come to his Hands, to the end that Judgment might be made of the Perſons, if any Queſtion ſhould ariſe touching the Lawfulneſs of the Choice.

That Sixty Members ſhould be accounted a Parliament, in caſe the reſt be abſent. Nevertheleſs, that it ſhould be lawful to the Protector *to call a Parliament when he ſhall ſee cauſe.*

That the Bills agreed on in Parliament ſhould be preſented to the Protector, *for his Aſſent thereto; and if he ſhould not give his Aſſent to them within Twenty days, that then they ſhould have the force of Laws without it.*

That if any Counſellor of State ſhould die, or be outed of his Place for Corruption, in the Intervals of Parliament, the Protector, *with the reſt of the Council, to ſubſtitute another in his ſtead.*

That a certain Annual Tax ſhould be made throughout the Three Commonwealths, for the Maintenance of Ten thouſand Horſe, and Fifteen thouſand Foot; which Tax ſhould alſo ſupply the Charge of the Navy: And that this Rate ſhould not be leſſened or altered by the Parliament, without the Conſent of the Protector *and his Council. But if it ſhould not be thought neceſſary hereafter that any Army ſhould be maintained, then whatſoever Surpluſage of this Tax ſhould be, to be kept in the Treaſury for ſudden Emergencies.*

That if there might happen to be occaſion of making extraordinary Choices, and to raiſe new Forces, it ſhould not be done without Conſent of Parliament; but that in the Intervals of Parliament it ſhould be lawful for the Protector *and his ſaid Council, both to make new Laws, and to raiſe Monies for the preſent Exigencies.*

That

That all the Lands, Foreſts, and Juriſdictions, not then ſold by the Parliament, whether they had belonged to the King, Queen, Prince, Biſhops, or any Delinquents whatſoever, ſhould thenceforth remain to the Protector.

That the Office of Protector *ſhould thenceforth be Elective; but that none of the King's Line ſhould be ever capable thereof; and that the Election ſhould belong to the Council.*

That for the preſent Oliver Cromwell *ſhould be* Protector.

That the Great Offices of the Commonwealth, viz. *Chancellor, Keeper of the Seal, Governour of* Ireland, *Admiral, Treaſurer, in caſe they ſhould become void in Parliament-time, to be filled up by the approbation of Parliament; and in the Intervals, by the like approbation of the Council.*

That the Chriſtian Religion, as it is contained by Holy Scripture, ſhould be the Publick Profeſſion of the Nation; and that thoſe who were to have the Care thereof, ſhould have their Support from the Publick; ſo that it be with ſome other more convenient Maintenance, and leſs ſubject to Envy, than by Tythes.

That no Man ſhall be by any Fine or Penalty whatſoever, forced to Comply with the ſaid Publick Profeſſion, otherwiſe than by Perſuaſions and Arguments.

That no man Profeſſing Faith in Chriſt, ſhould be prohibited the Exerciſe of his own Religion, ſo that he diſturb not any other: but that neither Popery *or* Prelacy *ſhould be permitted the leaſt Favour or Licence; and that all Laws to the contrary ſhould be void.*

That all Agreements made by Parliament ſhould be firm and ſtable; All Articles of Peace made with Domeſtick Enemies, made good.

That

That all Protectors, *in their Order, ſhould be obliged by Oath, at their firſt taking upon them the Government, by all means to procure the Peace, Welfare, and Quiet of the Commonwealth; by no means to violate the preſent Agreements; and laſtly, to his Power to adminiſter all things according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of* England.

Cromwell *ſwears to his own Conditions, and preſently chuſes Counſellors out of every Sect.*

To theſe Conditions *Cromwell* ſwears, and then cunningly chuſes his Privy-Counſellors; which he ſo dexterouſly pack'd, that though they differed in Quality and Inclinations amongſt themſelves, yet all were equally at his devotion. Of every Sect he chuſes ſome Leading Men, by whoſe means he might gain the reſt of the ſame Stamp: *Officers* alſo of the Army, eſpecially the Higher, and thoſe who were moſt in Favour and Authority with the People. Amongſt them were *Anabaptiſts*, *Independents*, and *Presbyterians*; *Iriſh* and *Scots*; all ſorts of *Republicans*; and, until all Liberty of Ingenuous Minds was reſtrained, ſome *Royaliſts* alſo. The Reins of theſe ſo many and different Opinions, Factions, Nations, and Sects, the skilful Driver, being himſelf of no Faith nor certain Profeſſion, took into his Hands, and turned them at his pleaſure; now inclining to one ſide, now to the other; ſometime approving the greater, and ſometime the ſmaller number of Votes; being ready at every turn to diſmiſs thoſe that were head-ſtrong. And thus aſſiſted by his Counſellors, he takes upon him the Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth.

What were the thoughts of men in this great Revolution.

Out of fear, few withſtand this ſo great a Change in Affairs, and many applaud it: Thoſe who are of a contrary Opinion, ſtand in amaze, and conceal their Thoughts. *Presbyterians*, *Independents*,

dependents, *Royaliſts*, *Neutraliſts*, and all, chuſe rather to acquieſce under his Government, than eternally to be enſlaved to the Pleaſure of mad *Fanaticks*. The exulting Soldiers are cock-a-hoop: Now *Colleges* are freed from the fear of Ruine; the *Common-Laws* are ſecured from danger; the *Nobility*, though maimed, yet ſtill ſeemed to be in being; the *Presbyterians*, ſecure of their *Tythes* and *Diſcipline*, though not coactive, triumph: nor are the *Royaliſts* much grieved, being now ſure of a Single Perſon, and hoping that the Scepter and Crown, after one or two Turns more, would at length be ſetled upon the right *Baſis*, the *Royal* Family. Every *Commander* of the Army talks of Golden days, as if now their Places were to laſt for ever; nor does the meaneſt Soldier deſpair, but that by degrees he may mount to the top of the Government. But *Lambert* and other *Chief Officers*, beſides the plentiful Eſtates wherewith they are enriched at preſent, skip for joy that they are admitted into a ſhare of the Government, hoping within a little after the death of the aged Protector, to be raiſed higher.

Amidſt theſe Domeſtick Revolutions at home, *England* wanted not a Foreign Enemy; they had a heavy War with *Holland* upon their Shoulders, which being begun two years before, and till then continued, ſeemed like to terminate in the Ruine of one of the two Nations, had not God otherwiſe decreed. The *Dutch* were netled at the Letters of *Repriſal*, which being promiſcuouſly granted, Pyrats from all Places, who liked better to live by Rapine, than by honeſt Courſes, infeſting the Seas, had taken above Fourſcore Sail of Ships; as alſo at the Order of *Parliament*, *That no Goods ſhould be*

A War with Holland.

The uſe of it.

be Imported from abroad, unless in English *Bottoms, or Ships of the Country where the Commodities were originally to be had.* And that People were too late foolishly bent upon War: For when it was in their Power to have assisted the King against His Rebellious Subjects, then would they neither aid Him with Counsel, Money, Intercession, Credit, nor any other way; nay, I wish it might not be said, that some of them assisted the Rebels. But now, when the Princes of *Europe* vailed their Crowns and Scepters before the *Parricides*, they think themselves able to make Head against them, and vie for Preeminence. Nothing now is to be heard amongst them, but forthwith resisting Force by Force: The Publick Places resound with Ballads and Songs against the Villanous *Regicides* and *Sectarians*, and Booksellers Shops are adorned with Pictures. The *Flushingers* exceeded all the rest in Folly, who boasted, that their own Ships alone were able to beat the *English*. But the *High and Mighty States* were not of that Judgment; they were divided into Three Parts: One *Part* was not onely for entertaining a Peace and good Correspondence with the *Regicides*, but also for Leaguing into a stricter Amity: *Others*, favouring the Popular Opinion, did all that lay in their power to thwart that; and that Confederating with Neighbouring Princes, they should endeavour to restore the *King* of *Great Britain* to the Throne of his Ancestors: A third *Party* taking a middle way, thought it best to mind their own Interests, carry fair and civilly with the *Rebels*, thereby to secure their Trade, and the free use of the Seas; but, in the mean time, if the *Parricides* carried it high, and slighted their Friendship, that with a well-appointed

Different Opinions of the States of the United Provinces *about that Matter.*

pointed Fleet of an hundred and fifty Men of War, they ſhould forthwith quell them.

The laſt Opinion prevailing, Four Embaſſadours for Pacification are appointed to go into *England*; the *Heers Catz*, *Schaep*, *Vandeperre*, and *Neuport*, who had long been reſident there. They renew the Treaty which *St. Johns* had broken up, beginning at the ſame Article where he had left off. The *Oligarchicks* hereupon ſeem ſorry for what was paſt; and preſaging a future Coalition with the *Engliſh* into one Commonwealth, carry very civilly, and kindly receive them. Then the *Dutch Ambaſſadors*, without denouncing of War, make ſome mention of an hundred and fifty Men of War, which they had in readineſs to ſcowr the Seas from Pyrates, and ſecuring Navigation; but without any Intention to moleſt us, which was far from their thoughts.

The middle Opinion prevailing, Embaſſadors for Pacification are ſent into England.

But in the heat of the *Treaty* it unluckily fell out, that a great Fight hapned betwixt *Blake* and *Trump*, the *Admirals* of both Nations; but I am uncertain who gave the firſt Provocation. We alledged, That the *Dutch* refuſed to ſtrike Sail, which is a Mark of Prerogative and Dominion that we demand of all Foreign Ships; and that *Trump* being warned to do ſo by a Gun without a Bullet, was the firſt that fired a Broad-ſide, and that by order from his *Maſters*. However, from which Side ſoever the Provocation was given, *May* 24. 1652. both Fleets deſperately engaged in the Afternoon, and fought it out ſtoutly, till dark night hid the horrid Spectacle from the Eyes of Men. From this Engagement the *Dutch*, double to us in number, with the loſs of two Ships, and as much, if not more mauled than we, departed.

In the heat of the Treaty a ſharp Engagement hapned.

But

The Dutch *excuse the matter,* But seeing the *Dutch* could obtain no Victory in that unexpected Aggression, their *Embassadors* excuse the Matter, as having been a fortuitous Engagement, when they themselves thought of nothing less. Yet both Sides prepare for War; which was not at all ungrateful to the *English*, as being certain they could so long protract it, until the *Dutch* being forced to a Coalition, would at length yield; or being reduced to extremity, of which they entertained no doubtful Hopes, considering the Opportunity of our Ports, and the Number of their well-equipped Fleet, they would be glad to submit to the Will of the Conquerors. Both Parties were obstinate, and prepared all things that might be necessary to destroy one another. The *Dutch* Confederate with the *Danes*; who therefore lay first an Embargo upon a Fleet of the *English* in the *Sundt*, and afterwards carry them into *Copenhagen*, being laden with Masts, Pitch, Hemp, and Sail-cloth, which at that time the *Regicides* were in great want of, though they had got a pretty good Supply from the *West-Indies*, and the Northern Parts of *Scotland*. The King of *England*, besides, offers them a Squadron of *English* Ships for their Assistance; which nevertheless they would not suffer to carry the *English* Colours, but in their own *Ports*, lest the Breach betwixt the two *Commonwealths* might prove irreparable. Both Parties in the mean while press Seamen, set out Ships, encrease the number of their Sailors, yea and put Land-Soldiers on Board too. All hopes of Peace now vanishing, the *Embassadors* return home; and a second and third Engagement hapned at Sea. No Age before that can shew an Instance that ever any People, not onely of *Europe*, but

But confederate with the Danes,

And fight again and again.

of

of the whole World, engaged at Sea with ſuch roaring of Great Guns, ſuch Fury, Courage, and Reſolution of Men, and ſo much Blood and Slaughter, as the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* did during that War, though with continual ill Succeſs to the *Dutch*; except that in the *Straits*, near *Legorn*, *John van Galen*, who was killed by a Cannon-bullet, and had young *Trump* for his Succeſſor, having ſunk two of our Ships, and taken a third, that was afterwards regained by a Stratagem, had the better of us through our own negligence. But then Revolutions hapning amongſt us at home, when *Cromwell* had invaded the Government, by the the Mediation of *Stones* and *Dolman*, Engliſhmen, who favoured the *Dutch*, four new Ambaſſadors come over again, *Bevering*, *Joumſtal*, *Neuport*, and *Perre*, at firſt to learn what Advantage they might expect from that turn of Affairs, and accordingly then to treat of Peace.

At length they ſue for Peace, Cromwell *being now at the Helm.*

The *Dutch* now thrice overcome, had ſufficient experience of the *Engliſh* Strength, having Seventeen hundred Merchant-Ships taken, many Men of War ſunk and diſabled, a great many Sea-Commanders ſlain, no Trade by Sea, and Sedition at home riſing almoſt to a Rebellion. But the fourth and laſt Engagement, above all the reſt, gave a clear Demonſtration, what Side Victory inclined to; when not a few were puniſhed with Impriſonment, Infamy, and Death, for their Miſcarriage at Sea; others allured and encouraged with Promiſes, Rewards, Hopes of Booty, and full Cups of Brandy: and as if *Holland* lay at ſtake in the Fortune of this Engagement, and that they were to uſe their utmoſt and laſt Efforts for the defence of their Country, they reſtore Diſcipline, build ſtronger Ships,

Ships, cast Guns that carried further, and give Commands to trusty, valiant, and daring Men: Nay, some of the *States General* are ordered to go on Board, as Eye-witnesses of the Valour or Cowardise of their Men. At length the *English* Fleet, commanded by *Monck*, having waited for the *Dutch* six Months upon their own Coast, they set out from the *Texel* and *Weelings*, and bore up towards ours, and, with as many Ships as they could fit out, briskly came to an Engagement; but after a long Dispute, with such Success, that *Trump* in the Admiral-Ship bearing in bravely amongst the *English*, was shot dead in the Breast; a Man of great Courage, (for Valour is to be praised even in an Enemy) and most skilful in Sea affairs: after his Death, the Enemy was put to flight, and great slaughter committed amongst them. In that Engagement seven and twenty *Dutch* Ships were either sunk or burnt, two thousand Seamen and Soldiers killed, a thousand taken, with six *Captains*: Whereas of the *English* there were not above four hundred Men, and one small Ship wanting, about seven hundred wounded, most of whom afterwards recovered.

A fourth Engagement, most fatal to the Dutch: Trump *being killed,*

And 2000 *besides.*

Cromwell *claps up a Peace with the* Dutch *and* Danes;

These things succeeding so ill, the *Dutch* clap up a Peace with *Cromwell*, the *Danes* also being comprehended in the Treaty. He hinted a little at a Coalition, onely for Forms sake, which the *Dutch* Ambassadors rejecting, he waved it, having other things in design. But *Bevering* and *Newport* privately promise, in the Name of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, and engage themselves, *That neither the Prince of* Orange, (an innocent Babe, then in the Cradle) *nor any of his Race, should ever be chosen Statholder, or Admiral of their Provinces*;

And lays a snare for the Prince of Orange.

and

and that he ſhould never have the Vote of their Provinces in the States General, for being elected General of the Forces. Which they got at length confirmed by the States at *Groningen*: The reſt of the Provinces, in the mean time, crying out againſt it.

But the Peace made with the *Dutch*, had almoſt diſturbed ours at home. For the Seamen complaining that they were defrauded of their Pay, tumultuouſly and ſeditiouſly flock together in a great Body, and with murmuring and Threats fly to *Whitehall*, bitterly railing, and demanding their due; till *Cromwell*, attended with ſome *Officers*, ruſhing out, drew their Swords, killed ſome Seamen, diſperſed the reſt, and ſo compoſed the Tumult. *Seditious Seamen.*

But we muſt not ſo diſmiſs the *Dutch*: For it hapned that War breaking out with *Holland*, three Ships, the *Saviour*, *Samſon*, and *St. George*, were freighted by ſome *Amſterdam*-Merchants, under borrowed Names, from *Hamborough* and *Lubeck*, *Hanſe-Towns*, to bring Goods from *St. Lucar* in *Spain* to *Amſterdam*. But the laden Ships by Storms and contrary Winds being forced into the *Downs*, fell in amongſt the *Engliſh Frigats*, that were more formidable than the Winds: Which being ſearched, they found them very richly laden, having on board to the value of Four hundred thouſand Pounds *Engliſh*, in Plate and other rich Commodities; and ſtopp'd them until they had acquainted the *Parricides* with the Booty. They preſently order them to be brought up into the River of *Thames*, where it was pretended, that the Silver and Goods were conſigned to the *Spaniſh Embaſſadour*, *Don Alonſo de Cadenas*, who uſed all his Endeavours to have them cleared. But the *Three* Hanſa-tick *Ships are ſtopp'd.*

Parricides, under pretext of doing Justice, refer the Matter to the Court of *Admiralty*; which by long Delays protracts the Suit; till the Silver, upon pretext of the Publick Necessity, being brought ashore, and Coyned in the *Tower of London*, was in *Oliver*'s Protectorship Condemned with the rest of the Goods.

And condemned.

Let us now make a step over to the *Portuguese*; whose *King*'s Excuse *Cromwell* took in very good part, seeing he pretended sorrow for what he had done: Wherefore he discharges the Ships laden with Sugar, upon reparation of the *English* Losses, and enters into Alliance with him; for confirmation whereof, *Medows* is sent over to *Portugal* with the Embassador, who then was upon his return.

Cromwell *is reconciled to the King of* Portugal.

But I must not here pass over the *Embassadors* Brother, *Don Pantaleon Sa*, who had not the luck to return again into his own Country. For he walking one Evening in the *New Exchange* of *London*, and resenting an Affront which he thought he had received from one *Gerard*, the Night following he repairs to the same Place, attended by the Retinue of his Brother the Embassador, and with Sword and Pistol falls indifferently upon Men and Women. A great Hubbub rising upon this, Colonel *May*, an *Irish-man*, drew, and alone beat off the *Portuguese*, the Authors of the Tumult. However, next morning *Don Pantaleon Sa* was carried out of his Brother's House, to be tried for the Murder of one *Greenway*, an innocent Person, who was unexpectedly and unfortunately killed in the Scuffle; and was shortly after brought to the Bar before *Rolls Chief Justice* of *England*, having some Doctors of the Civil Law for *Assessors*; where the Prisoner having pleaded and much

The Embassadors Brother, Don Pantaleon Sa,

For a Murder committed in London,

much insisted upon the Privileges of the Embassador, he is notwithstanding found guilty, and condemned. But having afterwards, by the help of a certain Mistress, made his escape out of Prison, either by the Discovery of a pretended Friend, or the diligent Search of the Keepers, he was again apprehended, and six months after beheaded upon *Tower-hill*, his Countenance looking so pale, that he seemed to have been dead before he died. *Is beheaded;*

At the same time, and upon the same place, *Gerard*, for a different Cause, and with far greater Resolution, suffered the same Death; For he was condemned by the *High Court of Justice* (as they called it) for asserting the *Royal* Cause; and upon the same Scaffold where the *Portuguese* afterward suffered, he chearfully and undauntedly had his Head struck off upon the Block. So by Death they seemed to be made Friends, who so lately sought one anothers Life. *And* Gerard *at the same time also, for standing up for the Kings Interest.*

Vowell, a School-master, was hanged for the same Cause; who bravely upbraiding the Judges to their Faces with Injustice, he cited the Judges and *Cromwell* to appear before the Judgment Seat of *God*, who will render to every one according to their Works. Vowell *hanged for the same Cause.*

But let us return to our King, who having an Appartment in the *Louvre*, did not lazily lament his Misfortunes, but tried all ways whereby he might better his cross Fortune, and set things to rights again: He uses all Endeavours to procure the Favour of the *King*, the *Cardinal*, and *Princes*. He mediates a Peace betwixt *Spain* and *France*; but in vain, seeing the *Cardinal* was against it. His next Care was, by perswading some, and appeasing others, to reconcile

The King of England *uſes all Endeavours to oblige the* French *King*;

the Princes of the Blood of *France* to the *King*, who were in a bad underſtanding becauſe of the *Cardinal*: At length he prevailed with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was joyned with the Princes againſt the King, to depart peaceably out of *France*, though he had entred it full of Anger and Revenge. But this coſt Our King dear: For whilſt *He* and the Duke of *York* were in a private Conference with *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Beaufort* coming in by chance, diſcovered it to the *Princes* of the contrary Faction; who caſting the blame upon the *King*, that *Lorrain* afterwards forſook them, made the *French* be-

But being baſely uſed,

ſpatter Him and all His Retinue with bitter Railleries and Calumnies. He being a little moved at theſe things, removed to *St. Germans*, until he was informed that *Burdeauxe de Neufville* had made a firm Peace with *Cromwell*; and then through *Liege* and *Aix la Chapell* he went

He removes to Cologne.

to *Cologne* in *Germany*, where by the *Burgomaſter* and Senators he was invited to a Banquet, and welcomed with all the Expreſſions of Joy and Friendſhip.

His Friends in England, *in the mean time, uſe all endeavours.*

The *Royaliſts* in *England* at firſt knew not what Hand to turn to; yet they caſt about all ways how they might reſtore the King to His ancient Dignity, and by ſhaking off the Yoke of Tyranny, recover at length their own Liberty. The *Parricides* were indeed but few in number, in compariſon of them; but they were ſuch as exceeded them in craftineſs, and, being victorious, had the Arms and Money in their Hands; and beſides, were ſo well ſerved by their clandeſtine Spies, that they had a watchful eye over all; ſo that they could not confer Counſels, nor diſcourſe privately together, nor ſo much as whiſper any Buſineſs. And

Cromwell *counter-endeavours.*

this

this was the reaſon that all Stirs and Attempts of Liberty were prevented. The *Presbyterians* alſo, though they wiſhed well to the *King*, yet for the moſt part ſtuck obſtinately to their Principles, neither adviſing nor aſſociating with the *Royaliſts*, but rather entertaining their old grudge and hatred againſt them. The *Royaliſts* neverthleſs finding by degrees Opportunities of conferring together, did by faithful Meſſengers, by Cyphers and Characters, by Signs and the dumb Language of Fingers, exhort, animate, and ſtir up Parties againſt *Cromwell*. Some of the bolder ſort openly diſobeyed his Commands; many unwillingly complied, under pretext of Laws to the contrary; whilſt others with various Colours and Pretences, ſome pretending themſelves *Presbyterians*, others *Republicans*, and others again *Anabaptiſts*, were ſtill jumbling Affairs, and Plotting.

Yet by mutual Exhortations they do ſomewhat.

At length *Royal* Commiſſioners began to be appointed all over *England*; the Chief to remain in *London*, and the Inferiour in the ſeveral Counties and Provinces; with Power to act, and by Meſſengers going to and again, to give one another and the *Kings Majeſty* intelligence of the Beginning and Progreſs of Affairs, and of the opportuonities of Acting. Among theſe were ſome *Presbyterians*, but not many. Theſe Commiſſioners were impowred to draw as many others as they could into the ſame Aſſociation; which they ſet about after this manner: Every one, according as they could, acquainted their truſty Companions with their purpoſe of Riſing, the Place, & Time; but that privately, and one onely at a time, leſt if the Matter afterward ſhould come to be detected, there might be no more but one Witneſs againſt the Party accuſed. So the Affair

The matter was at length undertaken by Commiſſioners,

Very cauteouſly;

was spread amongst a vast number of Men, and the more to be feared, that it was communicated to so many.

Few *Nobles*, either of *higher* or *lower* Quality, but were made acquainted with the Design; and though some declined the Danger, yet most of them kept Counsel: Nay, many *Republicans*, who now were more displeased with the Tyranny of *Cromwell*, than the Lawful Government of the *King*, joyn in the same Resolution; namely, *Overton*, who heretofore had been Governour of *Scotland*, and *Wildman*, both Leading Men. They had hopes that the *Republicans* and *Royalists* being associated together, they might either overcome, or at least force *Cromwell* to come to better Terms; and that then turning their Arms against the *Royalists*, they might easily subdue them. For the report was, That 2000 Horse, and vast numbers of Foot, all *Republicans*, had listed themselves for that Service.

The Republicans *also conspiring with them,*

The *Governours* of *Towns and Forts* give also hopes of joyning in the Confederacy: Cannon are likewise provided, and one day first, then another, and a third, are appointed for the Insurrection; that rising at the same time in all Counties, they might every way divert and divide the Enemy, and in this uncertainty what Course to take, overcome him.

And some Governours of Places.

But *Cromwell* is not ignorant of these Contrivances; he employs all his Arts and Might to get a clear discovery of the Scheme and Series of the whole Business, to bring to light the Plotters, and especially that he might detect the *Lords* and Chief Persons of Quality, break their Measures, and by a false Insurrection spoil their true Rising. By that means he suppressed the Conspiracy of the *Cornish* and *Somersbire* Men, by

But Cromwell *discovering the Design, easily disappoints it;*

by ſtirring them up to precipitate their Riſing. At *Heſſen-Moor* alſo, in *Yorkſhire*, a numerous Meeting is appointed to be, amongſt whom *Fairfax* himſelf was reported to have given hopes of appearing: But he being beſet by the Craft and Artifices of *Cromwell*, abſtained from Action. There the Earl of *Rocheſter*, whom we have often mentioned by the Name of the *Lord Wilmot*, and Sir *Nicholas Armorer*, met at the appointed time, that they might Head the reſt: But both of them few appearing, and moſt part falling off for fear, betook themſelves preſently to flight, and being taken at *Ailsbury* by the Rebels, with much ado made their eſcape. Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Sir *Richard Maleverer* being with others taken, are committed to Priſon. A great many People appeared that night alſo in *Sherwood-Foreſt* near *Nottingham*: But being partly betrayed, and partly ſmitten with fear, and divided about the Choice of a Commander, they all fly; of which, a great many, being apprehended, ſuffer a tedious Impriſonment for it. At the ſame time, about Three hundred *Wiltſhire* Men riſing, under the Command of *Wagſtaff* Major-General of the Army, broke into *Salisbury*, where two *Judges* of the *Kingdom* were then holding the *Aſſizes*, whom they ſeiſed, but afterwards civilly diſmiſſed. From thence for ſome days they wander up and down, in vain expecting Auxiliary Forces; till at length many of them diſappeared, and the reſt were defeated in their Quarters by *Crook*'s Regiment, *Wagſtaff* eſcaping ſafe in the dark. *London*, *Kent*, and the other Counties, taking warning from the Misfortunes of their Brethren, forbore at preſent to make any Diſturbance; but yet they could not eſcape the Intel-

Some riſing ſoon.

Others coward-ly.

And all diſappointed of their Hopes.

Many Persons of Great Quality committed to Prison:

ligence of *Cromwell*. The Earl of *Oxford*, Lords *Willoughby of Parham*, *Newport*, and *Compton*, *Littleton*, *Peyton*, *Packington*, *Ashburnham*, *Russel*, *Legg*, *Philips*, *Halsey*, and many others, whom I shall not name, being seised, are committed to a long and irksom Imprisonment, and some transported to the Plantations. The *Republicans* also, *Wildman*, *Overton*, and (much about the same time) *Vane*, are made Prisoners.

Not a few put to death.

All the Prisoners who were clearly convicted of the Fact, are severely punished: Many shed their generous Blood, some being beheaded at *Salisbury*, and some at *Exeter*; as *Penruddock*, *Groves*, *Lucas*: and others died upon a Gibbet, who ought to have had their Memories eternized in Statues. But not many of the rest were put to death, as not being taken in the Fact, or escaping in the Crowd of so many concerned, or, lastly, not any one accusing another.

Cromwell's Arts of Discovery.

Now the Reader is to know how *Cromwell* came to the knowledge of the matter. He had given power to the publick *Postmasters*, who were all at his devotion, to stop suspected People, open and secretly read their Letters, and if they appeared to insinuate any thing tending to an Insurrection, to give him an account of them; if there were any thing found ambiguously written, to write it down, till he might have an opportunity either of seising or branding the Parties with pregnant suspicion. He narrowly observed all Posts and Messengers, caused them sometimes to be stopp'd, and carefully searched from Head to Foot, terrifying them with Threats and Imprisonments, and plying them with Wine and other Engines of

Discovery,

Diſcovery, he found out the moſt hidden Secrets. He therefore hired and diſperſed about many *Spies* and *Eve-droppers*; nay, and ſome clandeſtine ones amongſt the *Cavaliers* themſelves, who openly ſtood up for the *King* and *Royal* Cauſe, but Men of no Eſtates nor Honeſty, who prying into all the Secrets they could, gave intelligence of them. But theſe Men did but little Service, being accuſtomed to detect things that were publickly known, and ſometimes contradictory. He gained a conſiderable and topping Traytor, one *Manning*, whoſe Father died in defence of the *Royal* Cauſe, as he himſelf had formerly ſerved the *King*, and received a Wound in the Foot; being a Gentleman of a good Family, and by Religion a *Roman Catholick*: who notwithſtanding, that he might be the more acceptable, and make way for his future Treachery, daring in a manner to mock God, took the Sacrament, after the manner of the Church of *England*. *Cromwell* by Craft and Allurements wholly debauched this Man into his Party; who inſinuated himſelf into the *King*'s Service, and the Society of the Courtiers, under pretext of raiſing amongſt the *Royaliſts* Six thouſand pounds *Engliſh* a year, for the Uſe of His *Majeſty*, *Cromwell* in the mean time privately paying the Money. Under this ſpecious colour, he ſecurely dived into the Counſels of the *King* and of His Friends, and weekly ſends an Account of them; till at length (as no Treaſon can be long concealed) the Rat diſcovered himſelf, and being guilty of the Death of ſo many Brave Men, by his own Blood, which was all he could do, he expiated his Crime.

Spies mingled amongſt the Cavaliers;

Eſpecially one Manning that lived at Court,

Who at length was juſtly put to death,

But

Cromwell *calls a Parliament of Commoners onely,*

But a Parliament is now called at *London*, though not after the ancient manner: The *Commons* are onely called to ſit and conſult in Parliament; nor theſe neither freely elected by all the People. But before they were ſuffered to enter the Houſe, *Cromwell* ſpake to them to this purpoſe: *That ſome years ago none would have thought of ſuch a Door of Hope; that he knew there were yet many Humours and Intereſts, and that Humours were above Intereſt; that the Condition of* England *was like* Iſrael *in the Wilderneſs; that this was a Healing Day; there was neither Nobleman, nor Gentleman, nor Yeoman before known by any Diſtinction; we had not any that bore Rule or Authority, but a great Contempt of Magiſtracy and Chriſt's Ordinances: That the Fifth Monarchy was highly cried up by Perſons who would aſſume the Government; but that deſired thing wanted greater manifeſtation than appeared, for ſuch Men to change the Authority by. He deſired this Honourable Aſſembly to remedy all theſe Diſorders; ſhewed, That the Wars with* Portugal, France, *and the* Dutch, *do and did eat up the Aſſeſſments; That ſwarms of Jeſuits are crept in to make Diviſions, which were grown ſo wide, that nothing but his Government could remedy them: And let Men ſay what they will, he could ſpeak it with comfort before a Greater than any of them.* Then he ſhewed what he had done during his Government: *First, his Endeavours of reforming the Laws, having joyned all Parties to aſſiſt in that great Work: Next, his filling the Benches with the Ableſt Lawyers: Then his Regulation of the Court of Chancery, and his Darling Ordinance for the Approbation of Miniſters (which hindred all that liſt from invading the Miniſtry) by Men of both Perſuaſions,* Presbyterians *and* Independents, &c.

Wherein he brags of his own good Deeds.

And

And lastly, his being Instrumental to call a Free Parliament; which he valued, and would keep it so above his Life.

Then he shewed the Advantage of the Peace with the Dutch, Dane, *and* Suede, *and the Protestant Interest, which he would have them improve and intend chiefly: That they were now upon the Edge of* Canaan: *That he spoke not as their Lord, but their Fellow-servant: And then bad them go and chuse their Speaker. Cromwell* having spoken to this effect, the Members, without returning him Thanks, as is usual, went to the House. *Which he would have the Parliament to confirm.*

Lenthall being again chosen Speaker, they fall first upon the *New Instrument of Government*; all the Clauses and Articles whereof they thorowly sift and examine. The *Officers* of the *Army* who were Privy-Counsellors, and all who depended on *Cromwell*, vigorously oppose that, saying, *That that Instrument was to be taken for the Basis and Foundation of the Government, no ways to be called in question, since by the Authority thereof the Parliament met; and that it would be contrary to the Dictates of Natural Reason, to bring it to a Trial.* Nay, many, and particularly *Lambert*, threaten, That if the *Parliament* did not approve and confirm it, they themselves would call another, nay a third, and a fourth, till it should be at length established by Publick Consent. But the *Republicans* stood stiff to the contrary, making answer, *That the* Government *was usurped by Craft and Force, not procured by Right, nor confirmed by the Free Votes of the People; that it laid Snares for the Liberty of the Commonwealth, and made way for a most grievous Tyranny.* One amongst the rest, in the heat of the Debate, was so bold as to say, *That since they were approaching so near to Monarchy, it were better* *But they, on the contrary, nibble at the* Instrument of Government, *The Officers and Courtiers opposing it,*

But the Republicans *urging the same.*

to

to call one of the Royal Family to the Government, than that Cromwell *should usurp the Scepter and Crown.*

But Cromwell *severely checks these Debates,*

Cromwell being informed of these Debates, comes in great rage to the Parliament, and tells them to this effect: *That they were not called together that they might confound and turn all things again into the former Chaos, but that they should build upon the Foundation and Ground-work already laid down, and not to be altered: That his Authority could not be called in question, unless at the same time they invalidated their own Power; since the present Parliament was called by him, and by him had liberty to consult: That he alone had the Right of setling Fundamentals, upon which they had power to raise and beautifie Superstructures: That he was resolved to maintain the Government and Supreme Power in a Single Person, to call a Parliament once in Three years, not to sit above Five months without his Consent,* &c. *That to violate or innovate these things, should neither be in the Power of the Protector nor Parliament: That in other things they might consult and enact as they pleased for the Publick Good.*

And obliges all that would enter the House to own the Government.

But because Admonition might not be sufficient, he thinks fit to apply Force. Next day a Guard of Soldiers being set before the Door of the House, no Man was suffered to enter, unless he signed the following Recognition: *I shall be faithful to the Lord Protector, and shall not endeavour to change the Government of a Single Person.* Many who could not swallow that Bit, are debarred from the Privilege of Sitting. Nevertheless, so many *Republicans* took the Recognition, as made the *Cromwellian* Faction and *Republican* almost equal; some who underhand favoured the *King* joyning themselves to each

Side,

Side, enflaming Animoſities, and, as much as might be, ſetting the Parties, who ſeriouſly treated theſe Affairs, at greater variance: Inſomuch, that after five Months continual jangling and debate, *Cromwell* was not able to bring his Affairs to any good iſſue in this Parliament.

However, he loſt all his Labour.

Nor do the *Republican* Spirits onely prevail in the Parliament, but alſo in the Army. For theſe conſult and plot together, how they might apprehend *Cromwell*, and bring him before the *Parliament*, to be accuſed and condemned of Treaſon; thinking with themſelves, that if they could lay Hands upon him, and make him Priſoner, there would be a ſudden change of Affairs; and that his Favourers and Adherents being thereby baulked, would ſculk and ſhift for themſelves. The truth is, the *Officers* of Three thouſand Horſe, and of no inconſiderable number of Foot, frequently met in *Somerſet-houſe*, and elſewhere, about the contriving and carrying on of that Deſign: But before the Matter came to maturity, by the Treachery of *Pride*, it came to *Cromwell*'s Ears, who, by a haſty Diſſolution of the Parliament, prevented all thoſe Machinations, and disbanded thoſe Officers.

The Republican Soldiers conſpire his ruine.

Which he ſmelling out, preſently diſſolved the Parliament.

In the mean time *Cromwell* having received a ſplendid Embaſſie from *Sueden*, with equal Magnificence, he concluded a Peace with that Crown, and diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with hopes of a nearer Alliance. He makes Peace alſo with *France*, and promiſes to ſend over Aſſiſtance thither, if the Affairs of *England* would permit him.

He makes Peace with Sueden, *And* France.

But all this while, the ſpecious Pretext of *Supreme Authority* was wanting to theſe Attempts. The *Parliament* had denied their *Collective*

lective Votes; to make that up therefore, it remains, that the *Distributive* Votes of all the People be had, and that the *Officers* break the Ice. Wherefore Gratulatory Petitions or Addresses are sent by the Commanders of the several Regiments of the Army in *Scotland*, whereby they thank the *Lord Protector* for having changed the Form of Publick Government to the better. They pray him *to go on in the discharge of that Province which by Providence he hath undertaken; promising with their Lives and Fortunes to maintain and defend him in all difficulties.* But amongst the *English Officers* there was a necessity of a wheadling Pretext, to wit, *That the Malignants and Enemies of the Country now triumphed, as if the Army breaking into Discords and Divisions, would presently renounce their General* Cromwell: *That therefore a Petition of that nature must needs be framed, wherein by applauding the Protector, they would convince those that were of a contrary Opinion.* With much ado he obtained that amongst the *Republicans*; but at length (some refusing to sign it, as venturing rather *Cromwell*'s Displeasure and Revenge, than by a sneaking Compliance to betray the Rights and Privileges of the People) all the rest agree to the Petition. The Army thus leading the Dance, some *Corporations* and *Counties* follow; and these, possessed by what Spirit I know not, heap so many and so great Elogies upon the Man, that striving to outdo others in Hyperbolical *Cant* and Flattery, they fall into Blasphemy, and blush not most profanely to attribute to this Man, Titles that are peculiar to God Almighty.

For Support of his Authority he procures Gratulatory Addresses from the Officers of the Army in Scotland,

Then from the Officers *in* England,

And afterwards from some Corporations.

In the mean time (*to give the Devil his Due*) he restores *Justice*, as well Distributive, as Commutative,

He affected to be a Promoter of Justice,

mutative, almoſt to its ancient Dignity and Splendour; the *Judges* without Covetouſneſs diſcharging their Duties, according to Law and Equity; and the *Laws* (unleſs ſome few that particularly concerned *Cromwell*) having full and free courſe in all Courts, without hindrance or delay. Mens Manners alſo, at leaſt outwardly, ſeemed to be reformed to the better, whether by really ſubſtracting the Fewel of Luxury, or through fear of the Ancient Laws, now revived and put in execution. His own Court alſo was regulated according to a ſevere Diſcipline; here no Drunkard, nor Whoremonger, nor any guilty of Bribery, was to be found, without ſevere Puniſhment. Trade began again to proſper; and, in a word, gentle Peace to flouriſh all over *England*.

And a rigid Cenſurer of Manners,

He ſtudied alſo to gain an Opinion of extraordinary Sanctity among the *Church-men*; for no Man affected to ſeem more tender of the Clergy than he, though he would not liſt himſelf in any particular Sect, nor eſpouſe particular Opinions: He was, indeed, more inclined towards the Independents, his Affairs ſo requiring; but a ſevere Enemy to all the Orthodox Clergy of *England*. He gave it out, That it was his onely wiſh and deſire to ſee the Church in Peace, and that all would gather together into one Sheep-fold, under one Shepherd, *Jeſus Chriſt*, and mutually love one another; whilſt under-hand he ſet them together by the Ears, and promoted their Diſſentions. He projected ſome ſpecious Propoſals of Reconciliation betwixt the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; but when they were upon the point of agreement, he put them again at greater variance. Under pretext alſo of moderating and pacifying the Diviſions

And a Favourer of the Clergy,

Whoſe Diviſions nevertheleſs he foments, whilſt he ſeemed earneſt in compoſing of them.

Divisions of the *Scottish Remonstrators* and *Assembly-men*, he blows up the Embers, and kindles greater Flames amongst them. By turns he used to countenance all sorts of *Fanaticks*, that the hair-brain'd People might the more obstinately stick to their Whimseys and Scruples; of whom, if he could frame any one to his own Temper, by prying into his Secrets, he shewed himself easie and tractable to the Opinions and Punctilio's of any Religion. He had moreover the knack of wheadling and alluring all with hopes of Favours, and fawning Offices, but so, as they must know, there was no resisting of the Bridle; if otherwise, he would break out into Anger, and thunder Threatnings. If he perceived that the *Presbyterians* began to raise their Crests, be troublesom to their Neighbours, seem uneasie under the Government, or meddle in Civil Affairs, then would he threaten and denounce all Evils to the *Sect*, and let loose against them the *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, and the rest of the *Fanaticks*, who took pleasure in disputing with the Preachers, and interrupting them in their Divine Worship; and by such Brutes he created no small trouble to the swelling *Presbyterians*: Nay, he was heard by many to glory, that he had curbed that Insolent Sect (as he used privately to call it) which would suffer none but it self, so that they had humbly begg'd his leave, and thanked him for granting them permission to Preach and perform Divine Worship after their manner, in their own Congregations, and to those who were willing to submit to their Government.

Industriously suppressing the Insolence of the Presbyterians.

Though the Publick Use of the *Service-Book* was denied to the *Episcopal* Party, yet in Private Houses he allows them the Use of their Rites.

Rites. He not onely cherished, but seemed also mightily to love Dr. *Brownrigg*, a Bishop, and other Learned Men, whom heretofore he was acquainted with at *Cambridge*, whilst they were suffered by the *Parliament* to live there, and commanded them to visit him often: yet it was his custom, so soon as they were gone, to forget, calumniate, and deride them. If any were suspected by him to promote the *Royal* Cause, or to contrive against himself, they must be sent to Foreign *Plantations*, chained and imprisoned, severely checked, interrupted in their Sermons, haled before Officers or Justices of the Peace, and not dismissed till they found Security for their Good Behaviour, and the keeping of the Peace. Nevertheless, though the State of the *Church* seemed now sad and deplorable, yet it is not to be denied, but that milder Courses were used, than under the rigid Tyranny of others that went before.

He was ill-affected towards the Church of England, *tho he was accustomed to caress some few.*

The *Independents* get into the Chief Places of Honour and Profit, whom he countenanced with his own Familiarity; and at length gave them liberty to call an Assembly at the *Savoy*, that the Preachers or Prelates of the *Independent* Churches in all Counties meeting there, might make a *Confession* of their *Faith*, and justifie themselves from absurd Opinions, with which they were branded by some: but especially, and indeed, that they might shew their Numbers and Strength, and by knowing one another, associate together into a stricter Union. Though this Meeting was not celebrated till *Richard* was possess'd of the Government, yet the Grant of it was obtained in *Oliver*'s time. He allows a Toleration of Religion to all sorts of *Fanaticks*.

He hugged the Independents:

Nor was he an enemy to Fanaticks,

And Roman-Catholicks.

Though publickly he deteſted, and ſeemed an implacable Enemy to the *Papiſts*; yet he was very familiar with ſome of them, and very obliging towards them: Nay, once he ſet afoot a Treaty with them, about a general *Toleration of Religion*, converting the third part of their Rents, wherein by our Laws they are fined, into a certain Sum of Money. But becauſe they could not agree upon the Money-conſideration, and that he ſmelt out that it would be ungrateful to the People, and give occaſion of Stirs and Commotions, he thought it more expedient for that time to deſiſt. But what ſucceſs ſoever that Affair had, he gave to all Liberty of *Maſs* privately; and *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits*, who by the Law are guilty of Death if they ſet foot in *England*, had never greater freedom, nor did they ever more boldly carry on their Deſigns, in the Camp, Courts, and Pulpits, ſome of them being even raiſed to Promotion; ſo that amongſt the unſtable and ill-grounded, they reaped no ſmall Harveſt of *Proſelytes*.

He creates Cenſurers of the Preachers out of every Sect;

He appointed a Convention of Lay-men and Church-men, as well *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, as alſo *Anabaptiſts*, who had power to judge of Promotions, and the Collation of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, vacant by Death or Depoſition; to call before them, and examine Competitors, put Queſtions to them concerning their Manners and Learning, and eſpecially *about the Marks of the In-dwelling of the Holy Spirit*; and ſometimes about Civil Matters, as, *If they liked a Popular State.* It was lawful to theſe either to admit to, or debar from the Cure of Souls, whom they pleaſed, without any regard to Ordination. I ſhall not mention how much, according to the various Tempers of the

the Men, by Sollicitations, Promiſes, Gifts, and Bribes, things were Symoniacally tranſacted in that kind of Office, Lay-men, Soldiers, Bankrupt Tradeſmen, and Shop-keepers, being alſo admitted into the Miniſtry, and mingled with ſome skilful Preachers who had been Ordained. *Who baſely minded their own Profit.*

He endears and obliges to himſelf *Seculars*, by ſpecious Offices, ſuch as were accommodated to the different Humours of the Men. The *Nobles* and *Great Men* (for with ſome few of them he had an Intimacy) he delighted with Raillery and Jeſting, contended with them in mimical Geſtures, and entertained them with merry Collations, Muſick, Hunting, and Hawking. But the *Godly*, and thoſe that profeſſed much Piety, he would humour with holy Conferences, Prayers alſo (when it was needful), and Expounding of Sacred Scripture. O! how he would magnifie Divine Mercy, caſting his Eyes up to Heaven, and laying his Hand on his Breaſt, in ſhew adoring his Maker with Tears and Sighs! When he was in the Country, he uſed once or oftner a Year, to give the Neighbours about, a Buck, to be run down in his Park, and ſome Money to buy Wine to make merry with. He would often make Feaſts for the Inferiour *Officers*, and whilſt they were a feeding, before they had ſatisfied their Hunger, cauſe the Drums to beat, and let in the Private Soldiers to fall on, and ſnatch away the half-eaten Diſhes. The robuſt and ſturdy Soldiers he loved to divert with violent and hurtful Exerciſes; as by making them ſometimes throw a burning Coal into one anothers Boots, or Cuſhions at one anothers Heads. When the *Officers* had ſufficiently laughed, and tired themſelves *He ſtudies to ingratiate himſelf with all men, according to their various Humours: With the Nobility, The Godly, Country People, And alſo the Soldiers.*

ſelves with theſe Preludes, he would wheadle them to open their Hearts freely; and by that means he drew ſome Secrets from the unwary, which afterwards they wiſhed might have been wrapp'd up in everlaſting darkneſs: whilſt he, in the mean time, pumping the Opinions of all others, concealed his own. Let not the Reader take it ill, that I have taken notice of ſuch Trifles; which, indeed, would not be worth the minding, had not Matters of great moment depended on theſe idle and ridiculous Toys. For whatever he could catch by that Artifice, he kept in his Mind, till he thought fit to diſcover and apply them to his own Purpoſes.

Always glancing at his own Profit:

He was rich in Promiſes, but at the ſame time very ſparing of Gifts; for he never beſtowed a Place or Office, till firſt he weighed it exactly in the Scales of his own Profit, that he might thereby reap conſiderable Advantage to himſelf; as, when he advanced his Countrymen, the more ſagacious, or ſuch as were ready to undertake any thing, to Preferments. He had the knack of prying into, and winding about the Minds of all, even of his Enemies themſelves, beſetting them with Snares, Artifices, and Wiles. If he perceived any one caught in the Trap, his way was to put him upon odious Employments, as Raiſing and Collecting Aſſeſſments, informing againſt and accuſing of others; and ſo he endeavoured to render him hateful to the reſt: But if he was altogether inflexible, and would not conform to his Humour, then would he turn him off, and make him loſe all his paſt long Services.

A moſt cunning Diver into the Manners of Men,

No Man dived more cunningly into the Manners of Men, and into the Tempers of thoſe with whom he had Buſineſs to do, nor ſooner

diſcovered

diſcovered their Talent; no Man knew more of Men; nay, if there was any Man in all *England* that was ſingular in any Art or Faculty, he could not be hid from him. He had an abſolute command over all the Paſſions and Affections of his own Mind; could weep when he ſaw his Friend in Tears, yet without any Grief; he would ſeem to hug in his Boſom, and ſhew all kind of Civility to the Man whom he hated: ſometimes he would break out into Fury and Rage, and ſcold till he came to Blows; but next day again be ſorry for his Tranſports, and from thence take occaſion of fawning and flattering. But enough of the *Tyrant*: Let us now ſay ſomewhat of the *King*.

And moſt prodigious Hypocrite.

He had not been long at *Cologne*, before he had News of his Brother the *Duke of Gloceſter*, whom, being as yet a Child, the *Parricides* had ſent beyond-Sea, and for no other end, as was believed by many, but that *he might make Shipwrack of his Faith and Religion.* He lived, indeed, in great danger, amongſt *Roman Catholicks*, who tampered with him, threatning him with the Everlaſting Wrath of God, and Temporal Puniſhments, if he embraced not the *Roman Catholick Faith.* But though he bravely reſiſted the Temptation, and by an unparallelled Example maintained the Orthodox Religion, the *Kings Majeſty*, nevertheleſs, fearing his young and tender years, leſt at length he might be prevailed upon, either by the Importunity of thoſe Men, or the Allurements of his Mother, ſent the Marqueſs of *Ormond* into *France*, with pathetick and dehortatory Letters, to take him out of the Hands and Cuſtody of the *Queen-Mother*, and bring him to *Cologne*. The *Princeſs Mary* came alſo from *Holland*, and many

King Charles *ſends for the Duke of* Gloceſter *his Brother from* France,

Leſt the Stripling might be in danger of his Religion amongſt Catholicks.

other Nobles, who went with the King to *Duſſeldorp*, to viſit the Prince of *Neuburgh*, and the Biſhop of *Mentz*. His *Majeſty* alſo ſaluted the Queen of *Sweden* upon her Journey into *Italy*, not far from *Frankfort* on the *Mane*; and having taken leave of the *Princeſs*, his Siſter, whom he had accompanied to the *Spaw-waters*, he returned to *Cologne*: Where the Biſhop of *Avignon*, that he might gain Credit to Aſtrological Predictions, ſent him out of *France* a Scheme calculated by one *Oneal* a Mathematician, wherein he predicted, That in the Year One thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty, the *King* ſhould certainly enter *England* in a triumphant manner; which ſince, to our wonder, we have ſeen fulfilled, all the People triumphantly rejoycing. Whether he foretold this by the Principles of his Art, or fortuitouſly, I ſhall not determine. The *King*, notwithſtanding, bends His Thoughts towards *England*, watching every Opportunity to be laid hold on, for the advancement of His Affairs.

He ſaw his Reſtauration foretold by a certain Aſtrologer, Oneal.

In the mean time, whilſt He with great tranquillity of Mind ſuffered greateſt Adverſity, *Cromwell* had neither Reſt nor Security in his Proſperity, ſince the time the laſt Whirlwind had blown with ſo much fury and force; whether he was laſhed by the Furies of an ill Conſcience, or terrified with growing Dangers, he never was at eaſe. In the day-time his Looks were intent upon new and unuſual Spectacles; he took particular notice of the Carriage, Manners, Habit, and Language of all Strangers, eſpecially if they ſeemed joyful: He never ſtirred abroad but with ſtrong Guards, wearing Armour underneath his Clothes, and Offenſive Weapons, as a Sword, Faulchion, and ſeveral Piſtols;

Cromwell *continually dogg'd with anxious & biting Cares*,

Piſtols; never coming back the ſtreight publick Rode, or the ſame way, nor never paſſing but in great haſte and with ſpeed. How many Locks and Keys are for the Doors of his Houſe? Seldom he ſlept above three Nights together in the ſame Chamber; nor in any, that had not two or three Back-doors, Guards being ſet at all of them. *Thinks himſelf ſafe no where.*

Let us here mention one Paſſage, which tho' indeed ridiculous, had nevertheleſs almoſt coſt him his Life. Being much troubled with the Stone, he uſed ſometimes to ſwill down ſeveral ſorts of Liquor, and then ſtir his Body by ſome violent kind of Motion, as Riding hard on Horſeback, or Jolting in a Coach, that by ſuch Agitation he might disburden his Bladder. Wherefore one day he took with him his Secretary *Thurlow*, that they two by themſelves might privately uſe this Exerciſe, in a Coach in *Hide-Park*. When they were come thither, *Cromwell* himſelf got up into the Coach-box, drawn by ſix ſtout Horſes, lately preſented him by the *Count Oldenburgh*: But ſo ſoon as he began to ſnap his Whip, the Horſes run away, and the Poſtilion who was to guide them being thrown off of the Forehorſe, they fall a fretting, and grow unruly, and not knowing their Maſter, toſs their new Driver from his Seat upon the Pole; who falling from thence upon the Ground, and being entangled in his Coat, was dragged up and down, till having received many Bruiſes, and a Pocket-Piſtol going off in his Pocket, his Coat rent, and he eſcaped from the very Jaws of Death; a Troop of Guards that waited without the Park, haſtning in to his Aſſiſtance, God Almighty thought it not fit that this Plague of *England* ſhould thus expire, though *Getting into the Coach-box to exerciſe his Body.* *He was very near being torn to pieces alive by Horſes.*

though he was not far from the juſt puniſhment of his Crimes, that is, from being torn to pieces alive by unruly Horſes. But this made work for Poets and Poſt-boys, and afforded pleaſant Diſcourſe in Taverns.

Of new he oppreſſes the Royaliſts, *whom he ſpoils of the tenth part of their Goods,*

Cromwell now growing bare of Money, diſperſed his Souldiers over the Countrey, allowing them free Quarters inſtead of Pay; taking a pretext from a late Inſurrection, without any accuſation or proof of a Crime, to plunder all thoſe who had been ſequeſtrated for the *Royall* Cauſe, commanding them to pay the tenth part of their Goods, and of their yearly Rents; unleſs they could compound for it, by laying down a Sum of Money, as had been often done before. The *Publick Faith*, and *Act of Oblivion* ſtood them in no ſtead; though it had coſt vaſt Sums of Money, or had been ſtipulated by Articles upon the ſurrender of Garriſons and ſtrong places: Nor did the innocence of many, who had not meddled in theſe Affairs, in the leaſt excuſe them; all are equally involved in the Guilt, and muſt all alike part with their Money.

Without any diſtinction.

He ſets Major Generals over Provinces,

New *Major Generals* are appointed to raiſe the Moneys in all Counties, to the number of fourteen, each having their Province, which perhaps reached three or four Counties, over which, as amongſt the *Romans*, the Military *Tribunes*, ſo theſe were appointed with almoſt an abſolute Power. And that they might not ſeem thus to domineer onely for Money, they are impowered to make inquiry into all thoſe who had carried Arms for the *King*, or had favoured that Cauſe; thoſe who had heretofore bought up Arms, or had hired or let out Poſt-horſes; into Privat Aſſemblies; thoſe who

Who had great power given them over ſuſpected perſons.

live

live at too high a rate, when it is not known how they are able to afford it; into Vagabonds and Idle Perſons; into thoſe that frequent any ſort of Game; thoſe who ſlight, or are averſe from the eſtabliſhed Governments; into ſuch as raiſe Tumults or Sedition; thoſe who haunt Taverns, Tipling and Eating-houſes; into unlearned and ſcandalous Miniſters and Schoolmaſters: All ſuch the *Major Generals* had power to inquire into, call before them, and puniſh. To theſe were joined Aſſeſſors in the ſeveral Counties, Towns and Provinces, for moſt part choſen out of the very Sink of the People, though others of better note were ſometimes mingled with them; theſe had Power upon common Fame, proper Knowledge, or bare Conjecture, to inform againſt others, make them appear, and accuſe them before the Major General of the Army, with whom they ſat as Aſſeſſors in giving Judgment. Good God! how Princely theſe fellows carry it! how big and proud do they look, deſpiſing and ſlighting all others of what rank and quality ſoever? Nothing pleaſed them more than to inſult over, and oppreſs the *Miniſters of the Church of* England, ſufficiently already born down; who being long ago turned out of their Houſes and Livings, theſe Blades would not ſo much as ſuffer them to teach little Children, thereby to get Bread to themſelves and Families, unleſs ſome Fanatick interceded for them, which happened rarely, and but to a few. The *Royaliſts* being right or wrong before ſequeſtred, muſt now ſuffer a *Decimation*; and be threatned with Impriſonment, Bonds, and Tranſportation, which ſometimes were actually inflicted. Licentious indeed was the Rule of theſe

Eſpecially over Miniſters turned out of their Livings, who are not permitted ſo much as to teach little Children.

theſe Men, they carry all things Arbitrarily, and with Deſpotick Authority; making themſelves Judges of Controverſies, (though they were ignorant of, and deſpiſed all Forms and Methods of Proceſs,) which they conſtantly decided in favours of the Faction and their Party. They impoſed new and unuſual Puniſhments; nay, and made new Laws: Raiſed People out of their Beds at Midnight, and committed them to Goals; nay, and cauſed *Conſtables*, who have the power of keeping the Peace in Countrey Villages, to be whipt, and put in the Stocks; compelled Perſons of Quality, who had appeared for neither Party; nay, ſuch as had been for the *Parliament*, and others alſo, who heretofore by hereditary right had ſitten in the *Houſe of Lords*, to come and give their Votes in the Elections for *Parliament-Men*. Being at length drunk with that Exorbitant Power, they hardly acknowledged the *Protector* himſelf, and begun to ſpurn againſt the mighty *Tyrant*; which made him by degrees leſſen their Power, and upon the approach of a Parliament wholly aboliſh it.

At length their Exorbitant Power being ſuſpected to Cromwell *himſelf, they are wholly aboliſhed.*

About the ſame time *Cromwell* ſends one of his Bedchamber Envoy into *Poland*, there to Congratulate the Victories of the King of *Sweden*; with a preſent of four brave Horſes, as a Teſtimony of his Affection.

Whether or not, Private Affairs be worth the relating, may be a doubt; yet, that the inclinations of the People may be known, I ſhall mention ſome Paſſages. *Daviſon*, *Holder*, and *Thorold*, are brought into ſuſpition of acting for the *King*, and of uſing endeavours to bring him in; therefore they are committed to a Provoſt Marſhal, to be ſhortly brought to Tryal

Some Impriſoned for the Royal *Cauſe,*

Tryal before the *High Court of Juſtice*. In the mean time, having obtained leave from him to walk abroad, they wheadled the Soldier into a by place, whom, becauſe he refuſed to conſent to their eſcape, they Piſtolled. But being afterwards apprehended, they are brought to their Tryal for Murder before the Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Kings Bench*, in *Weſtminſter-hall*, and ſubmitted themſelves to the Verdict of a Jury of *Twelve Men*; a Tryal that onely pleaſes our Countrey-men, as being according to Law. Nevertheleſs, though they were taken in the fact, and that the Judge himſelf had promiſed to uſe his endeavours to have theſe Men Condemned; yet, I know not what ſcruples being ſtarted, the *Jury* brought them in, Not guilty; which thing vexed *Cromwell*, who had reſolved with himſelf that they ſhould certainly die for it.

For a Murder afterward committed, are brought to a Tryal, and acquitted by a Jury.

This inſtance made him inveigh bitterly againſt the ancient way of Tryal; reflecting alſo how *Lilburn* two years before, by the ſame means eſcaped his fury; and as luckily alſo, one *Stawell*, who was a Knight, notwitſtanding the Capitulation he had made upon the ſurrender of his Garriſon, being thrice brought to a Tryal of his Life, (a barbarous thing, and contrary to Law, to be again tried for one and the ſame crime) was thrice acquitted by the Jury. This, though the ſtrongeſt Bulwark againſt *Tyranny*, he affirms ought to be taken away, as a hindrance to *Juſtice*; complaining, *That Sacred Juſtice was raſhly put into the Hands of the Profane, Common People; that the weighteſt matters of Law did not depend upon the Sentences of the Learned in the Law, but upon the Pleaſure and Prejudices of a Company of Men, deſtitute of*

After the ſame manner Lilburn *eſcaped Death; and* Stawell *thrice.*

The Tyrant *objects againſt the Ancient Cuſtom of a Jury of twelve Men.*

of all Ingenious Learning, nay, and almost of Common Sense. That it was more consonant to Justice, that fifty Men chosen out of the flower of the whole Nation, should determine of Lives and Fortunes. Under these Colours and Pretexts, he subverted the wholsom Constitutions of our Fore-fathers, and invented a new way of *Butchery* of his own.

This wholesom Custom is justified.

But I desire that both our Countrey-men and Foreigners would take notice, that this Custom of Tryal by a *Jury* of Twelve Men, founded on Reason and Equity, granted us by the singular favour both of the *Saxon* and *Norman Kings*, and practised amongst us time out of mind, though it was in this Age for a short time intermitted, yet it was approved by the Publick desires of all. The truest Judges of the *Commons*, are the *Commons*; as of the *Nobles*, their *Peers*; since Men of the same Rank and Quality are aptest to love, and not to envy one another. Besides, if the Sheriff empannel any who bear you a grudge, you may challenge and reject them. How are they to be accused of ignorance, since the matter of *Fact* is known by Evidence, who alledge, and by their Oath prove it in open Court? and the point of Law they are to be directed by the Judges who are versed therein. The Fact is better examined by a plain and uncorrupted Conscience, than *cunning*, that serves the ends of another. The Judges and Bench have onely their Duty to mind, Consult for the common Interest, and with the publick good procure the favour of their Princes. On the other hand, those whom the offended *Conquerour* appoints as *Arbiters* of your Life and Fortune, obeying the pleasure of one Master, and obsequiously oppress you. Accused Subjects, whom before they look-

ed

ed upon as Servants, they now ſternly frown upon as Publick Enemies; and without more ado, find them guilty of *Treaſon*, and condemn them to ſuffer accordingly. It is a Compendious and rare way of Juſtice, indeed, to have the ſame Men to be the *Accuſers*, *Witneſſes*, *Informers*, *Judges*; nay, and plainly, the Executioners, and very often alſo the *Authors* of the Crimes.

About this time great Troubles hapned in *Piedmont* in *Savoy*: for the Duke of that Country, by Military force, drove many of the *Reformed Religion* out of their own Habitations, not without Blood and Slaughter. *Cromwell* takes upon him their Protection, writing for that end to the *Suitzers* and *French King*; and having ſent a Meſſenger to viſit them, who might intercede for them, and relieve their Wants with Money. For the Money that was charitably raiſed for their uſe all over *England*, he partly, indeed, diſtributed amongſt them, but reſerved the greateſt part for other Times and Occaſions.

Cromwell *aſſiſts the Proteſtants oppreſſed by the Duke of* Savoy.

At that time *England* was in a Fermentation, ſecretly deſigning a War; whereof the *Mediterranean* felt the firſt Effort, which afterward fell upon *Spain*, though not with the ſame force and violence. *Blake* was made Admiral of the firſt Fleet, being ordered to ſail into the *Mediterranean*, there to give a Proof of our Strength by Sea, to block up *Algiers*, *Tripoly*, and *Tunis*, and having redeemed the *Engliſh* Captives, to make Peace with theſe Towns, or rather Neſts of Pyrats; which if they refuſed, to reduce them by force to better terms. The *Divan* of *Algiers*, upon payment of the juſt Ranſoms, and having mutually interchanged honourable Preſents

An Expedition into the Mediterranean *Sea under* Blake;

Who eaſily agreeing with the Algerines, Preſents with the *Engliſh*, without any difficulty reſtore the Captives, and publiſh an Edict whereby free Commerce for the future is allowed to the *Engliſh* Nation. But he chaſtiſes the Inſolence of thoſe of *Tunis*, who had anſwered proudly, having ſent in ſome Ships, and burnt eight of theirs in *Porto-Ferina*; which having broken and humbled the *Infidels*, at length they agree to a Peace.

He chaſtiſes the Pride of thoſe of Tunis, *by burning their Ships in the very Harbour.*

Another greater into America. But the other Expedition required greater preparatives; as being carried on by the remains of the Diſſenting and Disbanded Souldiers, to wit, of *Eſſex*, *Waller*, and *Maſſey*'s Armies, *&c.* ſome *Royaliſts* and *Republicans* alſo, but ſparingly joyned with them. For theſe being for the moſt part indigent and dangerous at home, watched all opportunities of innovation; and therefore buſineſs is found out for them abroad, that they might not be troubleſome to others, but eaſe *England* a little by the departure of ſo many Men. The *Protector* made his brags openly, that by a War with *Spain*, the Nation would attain to much Glory, Wealth, and large Dominions in the *Weſt-Indies*: And not only cut off the Sinews of War whereby the *Spaniards* infeſted *Europe*, but alſo hinder the Influx of the Spirits and Life of it, by intercepting their Riches. Nor did he doubt of an eaſie and cheap Victory. For the *Spaniards* were but few, and thoſe diſperſed over the vaſt Territories of *America*; and that it was credible, that the Natives, weary of their hard and tedious Bondage, would upon the firſt glimpſe of liberty, riſe up againſt the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*. That though the Towns were well fortified, yet they were unprepared for making a reſiſtance, the Souldiers being

The firſt reaſon of it.

The ſecond.

The third.

The fourth.

being unaccuſtomed to War; nay, though Garriſoned by ſuch as had been inured to fighting, yet all relief by Sea being ſtopt, and the Land not affording Proviſions either for the *Engliſh*, or the *Inhabitants*, they muſt in a ſhort time be ſtarved out. The neighbouring Planta- *The fifth.* tions of our Countrey-men, beſides, accuſtomed to the Climat and Diet, could yearly furniſh ſupplies; ſo that there could neither be any want of Souldiers for ſubduing the Provinces, nor of People to be Tranſported into better Plantations. Nay, (and which went a great way,) there was not wanting a certain *Divine*, that gave vent to the Ambition which flamed ſufficiently of it ſelf, and who well underſtood the Enthuſiaſtick humour of *Cromwell*. This Man bid him, *Go, and proſper*; calls him, *A Stone cut out of the Mountains without Hands, that ſhould break the Pride of the* Spaniard, *cruſh Antichriſt, and make way for the Purity of the Goſpel over the whole World.* Swollen therefore with this hope, he ſends for Officers and Commanders from all Places, ſollicits, wheadles them with good words and with fair Promiſes of their paſt Arrears, and I know not what Mountains of Gold perſwades them to undertake the Voyage. He raiſes alſo private Souldiers, and fits out a conſiderable Fleet; he makes *Penn* Admiral at Sea, and *Vennables* General of the Land Forces, Men that could not ſet their Horſes together; joining with them *Commiſſioners*, who were acquainted with the Humours, and Language of the *Inhabitants*, and skilful in the Harbours and advantages of Places, with whoſe advice the Generals were to manage all matters; and preſently orders them to make ſail to the *Caribbee* Iſlands, there ſhortly to expect all neceſſary Proviſions from *England*.

Penn *Admiral at Sea, and* Venables *General at Land.*

Whil'ſt

The Spaniard *being afraid.*

Whil'ſt theſe things are carrying on in *England*, the Neighbouring Princes were at a ſtand what to think on't; but the *Spaniard* was moſt ſtartled, who from *Dunkirk* ſent the Marqueſs of *Leda* to learn if he intended to keep the Peace with him. But he from the Anſwers conjecturing the Deſign, ſpeedily returns, and repented too late of his too early honouring an Uſurper.

They arrive firſt at Barbadoes;

In ſix or ſeaven weeks time, with a fair Wind, they arrived at *Barbadoes*, the moſt flouriſhing of all the Iſlands; from thence ſailing to St. *Chriſtophers*, and other Circumjacent Iſlands, they raiſe nine or ten thouſand Men, not ſo much Souldiers, as Porters, Slaves, and Rogues, who in hopes of Booty, not with deſign to undergo the Perils and Toils of a Military Life, engaged in the Service; fitter to make up a number, than to fight. Truſting to this Army (though I muſt confeſs ſome old Souldiers were mingled with them) Arms and Ammunition not being as yet brought from *England*, (ſo that inſtead of Pikes many were fain to make uſe of Poles) they ſail to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, that ſurpriſing and making ſure of St. *Domingo* the chief Town, and leaving there a Magazine with as many Souldiers as they could ſpare, they might proceed to *Carthagena*; but when they came in view of St. *Domingo*, having landed part of the Souldiers near the Town, whilſt the reſt fetched a compaſs about, that they might attack it on the other ſide, the ſignal is expected. But theſe having fatally ſailed ten Leagues beyond the place appointed for the landing, put aſhoar in another place, and marching through a Sandy and thick Woody Country, they were ſo ſcorched and burnt up with heat and thirſt, that ſome being quite

Afterwards they ſaile to Hiſpaniola, *with a deſign to proceed to* Carthagena *after they had taken St.* Domingo.

But they are firſt overcome by the heat and thirſt,

quite ſpent, fell dead by the way; many ſtragling to find ſomewhat to aſſwage their thirſt, were killed by the Enemy: the reſt hardly able to go or ſtand upon their Legs, at length joyn their Companions. There, *Orders* were publiſhed, which were as grievous to their Minds as the drought had been to their Bodies, whereby *They are commanded upon pain of Death to bring all the Gold, Silver, and Rich Goods that they ſhould find, into a Common Treaſury.* The hope of booty had hitherto kept up their Spirits; but now being deſtitute of all comfort, and ſenſible of their preſent and paſt fatigues, they were ſetting forward on their march towards *St. Domingo*; when after a ſudden volley of ſmall ſhot, three hundred *Cow-hunters* armed with Lances break out of the Woods upon them, and having put them into diſorder killed them till they were weary. But next Day, the Army being refreſhed as well as they could, their deſign ſucceeded ſomewhat better. *Then by the Inhabitants,*

At length drawing off their Forces, they bid adieu to that unhappy Land, having loſt ſix hundred Men or more. Then they ſet ſail towards *Jamaica*, to the Weſtward, a pleaſant Iſland, and, as it were, a Garden of Delights; which they eaſily become Maſters of, the *Spaniards* Capitulating to be gone; but there a direful Plague, the avenger of Wickedneſs, raged amongſt the *Engliſh*, which within ſix Months infected and ſwept away the whole Army except two Souldiers. Afterwards new Souldiers, and freſh ſupplies coming by little and little to their refreſhment, they drive all the *Spaniards* out of *Jamaica*, which extends in length threeſcore Leagues, and thirty in breadth, and bravely repulſed *And at length by a Plague in Jamaica, whither they had betaken themſelves.*

repulsed those that attempted to come back again; becoming Masters of the whole Island, and raising Forts in several places for their defence. Thus Divine Wisdom baffles the Pride and Vanity of Man.

The Spaniard *declaring War,* Cromwell *assists the* French *upon these Conditions.*

The *Spaniard* to be revenged Proclaims War against *Cromwell*: And he on the other hand makes a League with the *French*, that at the Peril and Charges of others, he might give the *Spaniard* his Hands full on't. It was therefore agreed, *That* Cromwell *should send six thousand Men over into* Flanders, *to be payed by the* French; *and that the second Town that should be taken, should belong to the* English; *and that* CHARLES *King of* England, *with all His Court and Family, should be Banished* France, *lest he might any way be aiding and assisting to the Enemy.* The *Duke of York*, the Kings Brother, forseeing that, renounces the *French* Service, wherein he had hitherto bravely behaved himself under Marshal *Turen*; and shortly after both the *King* and He, are by *Don John* of *Austria* and others invited to come into *Flanders*, having a Pension of Nine thousand pounds *English* a year settled upon them, which his *Majesty* after his return into *England* fully repaid. They came first to *Brussels*; and there the *Duke* is made General of the *English*, *Scots* and *Irish*, who left the *French* Army at the *Kings* Command, and now served the *Spaniard*.

King CHARLES *and the Duke of* York *being invited, go into* Flanders,

Where the Duke serves the Spaniard.

Manasses Ben Israel, *a Jew, desires liberty for his Nation to live and Trade in* England.

At that time one *Manasses Ben Israel*, a *Jewish Rabbi*, came from *Holland*, and desired leave of the *Protector* that the *Jews* might be suffered to live in *England*, and enjoy a Free Trade, using many Arguments for obtaining that Favour; as, in the first place, *The Innocence of their Lives, and the Gain that would accrue from their Trade*;

Trade; and others eaſie to be deduced from the Native Genius and Qualities of that People: But the advantage he moſt boaſted of, was, *their Art in giving the beſt Intelligence, ſeeing they knew the ſecret Deſigns and Counſels of all Princes*; *theſe he promiſes to diſcover to him, and at the ſame time to defeat the Counſels that might be prejudicial to his Intereſts.* Laſtly, which was the ſtrongeſt Argument of all, he promiſes *a great Sum in ready Money, and ſome Thouſands of Pounds yearly to be paid into the Exchequer.* Such golden Promiſes, with the ſweet ſmell of Gain, ſoon prevailed, the Exchequer eſpecially at that time being exhauſted, much Debt contracted, and *Cromwell* caſting about all ways how he might have Money to defray the Publick Charges. But a fair and honeſt Pretext was wanting: Therefore, on a day prefixed, Divines are called to meet, and give their Judgments about this Matter; *Why, ſince we pray to God for the Converſion of the Jews, we ſhould baniſh them our Society*; *as if we, who are enlightned by the bright Beams of the Goſpel, ought to be afraid of our Religion becauſe of Jews?* He being aſſured of a great many Votes, made no doubt but that they would comply with him: But, alas! what a Tide of Contradiction had he to ſtem? Some Divines on the day appointed diſputing to the contrary, not without ſome inward heat and anger, ſo that they ſeemed rather to decline than promote the Determination of the Controverſie, by oppoſing this rapid Motion. However, he reſolved to connive, and allow them liberty to trade in *England*, with an Indulgence of their Religion according to the Rites of *Moſes*, without any publick Examination going before, or (as it is uſual amongſt Catholicks)

To which Cromwell *liſtens, in hopes of gain:*

But having firſt conſulted Divines,

Of whom ſome, contrary to his expectation, are of a contrary Opinion.

licks) coming yearly after, and without teaching or catechising them.

The English *Fleet, Commanded by* Montague *and* Blake,

But this Year was famous for the Actions of *Mountague*, since Earl of *Sandwich*, and of *Blake*: For they with a Joynt-Commission commanding the Fleet, whilst they were cruising upon the Coast of *Spain*, without the *Straits* Mouth, met with Eight great *Spanish* Ships, whom *Stainer* presently engages with Three Frigats onely; for the rest could not come up because of the Wind: but with so much Bravery and Resolution he plied them with his Broadsides, that within three or four Hours space he mastered them all; one being sunk, another burnt, two escaping into *Cadiz*, and two more forced ashore and broke to pieces, wherein were lost Sixty thousand Wedges of Silver, besides other rich Goods of vast Value. However, two of them fell into the hands of the Victorious, with a great deal of Coyned Gold, to the quantity of Six hundred thousand Pieces, much Silver, curiously-wrought Plate, and other things of value, together with two Sons of the *Marquess de Baydexio*, *Don Joseph de Savega*, and *Don Francisco de Lopes*; the Marquess himself, with his Lady, and Daughter, who was to be married to the Son of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, being burnt. The two Brothers that remained alive, were by *Cromwell* discharged without any Ransom.

Defeats eight Spanish *Ships richly laden; whereof two were taken.*

England now being sufficiently plagued by those petty Tyrants whom they called *Major-Generals*, who (as we said before) began to be uneasie to all, another Parliament is called; but not after the ancient manner, but onely made up of the Commoners or People; Thirty being called out of *Scotland*, and as many from *Ireland*;

A second Parliament, consisting onely of Commoners, wherein Scots *and* Irish *are admitted.*

Ireland; *Cromwell* tampering with many, and the *Major Generals* hindring the Elections and Votes of ſeveral, that the *Houſe* might not be filled with *Republicans*. In the mean while no Man is ſuffered to enter the *Houſe*, till firſt he ſubſcribed to the Authority of the *Protector*; ſo that by that means moſt of the *Republicans* of either ſort are excluded from ſitting. Sir *Thomas Widdrington* is choſen Speaker. Many things paſſed here in favour of *Cromwell*: as, *That it ſhould be Treaſon to conſpire his Death*: and, *That the Royal Family ſhould be renounced*. Nor is it in this place to be omitted, that about this time many things were publickly talked of to the prejudice of the *King*: as, *That he was Conſumptive, and could not live long*; *That he was alſo Melancholy, and inclinable to a Monaſtick Life, laying aſide all deſire of Government*; *and that the Duke of* York *was a Profeſſed Papiſt*; that by that means they might wheadle over the credulous and unwary to their Party, by removing every thing that might curb and keep them in awe. The *Cuſtoms* are renewed; a *vaſt Triennial Tax* alſo *impoſed upon all Houſes built upon new Foundations in* London, *and within Ten miles round, that every one of them ſhould pay a years Rent*.

Suits better with Cromwells *Intereſts*.

At length, at the Motion of a certain Citizen of *London*, the Parliament reſolves to give *Cromwell* the Title of *King*, with moſt of the Enſigns of Royalty, which he had already long ago uſurped; and many Members apply themſelves to him, beſeeching him that he would vouchſafe to accept of it: which he ſometimes made a ſhew as if he would embrace; but by and by again appeared doubtful, and at length ſhifted it off.

Since they would have made him King.

I think it will not displease the Reader if I give in this place a short hint at the main Reasons whereby the *Members* of Parliament endeavoured to incline *Cromwell* to accept of the Title of *King*, which inwardly he was most ambitious of, though outwardly he affected a reluctancy. This Affair was by the Parliament committed to the diligent management of six or seven of their number. These Men urg'd,

Alledging these Reasons for it: *That the name of* King *had always been in vogue from the very beginning in this Nation, for the space of above thirteen hundred years; that the Person of the King had sometime displeased the People; but that the Title was never before abrogated; that moreover the same was fitted to our Laws, and the Humour of the People, and approved not onely by the Votes of the preceding, but of this present Parliament also.* *To which he answering,* *Cromwell* answers, *That these were persuasive, but no cogent Arguments; that the Title of Protector might be adapted to the Laws; that Providence was against them, which hath now altered the Name; and that he could not without a Crime displease so many Godly and Religious Men.*

They strongly reply. But the *Commissioners* reply, *That the Title ought to be fitted to the Laws, not the Laws to Titles; nay, that the Innovation of Titles is suspected as a Cloak for Underhand Tyranny, and that the disadvantages of such a kind of change are never felt in in the same Age; for which very Reason, when King* James *came to the Crown of this Kingdom, the Parliament would not give way that in his Title, instead of* England *and* Scotland, *he should insert* Great Britain. *That by refusing the Title of King, he does not derogate so much from himself, as from the Nation; whose Honour it is to be governed by a King. That the supreme Magistrate was never designed by the Name of Protector, unless for a time,*

time, during the Nonage of the King, for the Administration of the Government, and a Title for the most part unfortunate. That that Name at present having its Original from the Souldiers, founded Victory, and might be lawfully rescinded by another Parliament. That the Title of King being once abolished, the Government would become mutable and unsafe, not durable, if the Foundation tottered; that in the space of five years it had been three or four times altered, and was yet as wavering, as heretofore the alteration of Title was ominous to the Roman *People, who neither could endure the Name of Prince, nor of Perpetual Dictator, nor of the Prince of the Senate, till at length the Pleasure of* Cæsar *went for Law.* But the strongest Argument of all was, *The Statutes of the Ninth of* Edward the Fourth, *and of the Third of* Henry the Seventh, *wherein it was enacted, That no Man carrying Arms, though unjustly, for the King in being, shall be punished for it; and that in the late Wars, more trusting to that Law, were in Arms for the King, than of those who loved his Cause. That as to Providence, it was no less conspicuous in changing the Government again into Monarchy, for avoiding confusion, and quelling a tumultuous People, than in changing the Name of a Monarch into that of Protector. That, lastly, Good and Godly Men would submit to a Decree of Parliament, though perhaps they might seem to differ in private.* A great deal of time is spent betwixt *Cromwell* and the *Committee* in mutual Answers and Replies; but after much affectation of Words, they still fell upon the same Heads again.

The chief Argument.

There was no less to do with the private Addresses of different Parties; most of the *Petitioning Lawyers*, the *Commissioners for the Great Seal*, the *Judges*, and some of the *Officers* of

Who they were that would have had him take the Title of King.

the *Army*, relying upon the former Reasons, entreat, urge, and earnestly importune him, *That he would consent to take upon him the Name of King*. On the other hand, the *Anabaptists*, *Sectarians*, and *Democratical Republicans*, by Letters, Conferences, and Monitory Petitions, wearied him with their importunities to the contrary. Many also of the *Soldiers* and inferiour *Officers*, laying their Heads together, frame a Petition to the same purpose. But he, during the whole transaction, dismisses all with the same uncertainty and doubts; however he severely chid the Soldiers, biding *them mind their own business, for what had they to do with the Resolutions of Parliament? that they should look to their Arms, and keep themselves modestly within their own bounds, not medling in Civil Affairs; but that if they did forget their Duty and Obedience, neither God Almighty, nor he himself would be wanting to reduce them into order.*

And who on the other hand as fiercely opposed it.

The Cavaliers *for several reasons were for the first Advice.*

The *Cavaliers* are Tooth and Nail for his complying with the first Advice, as being a Matter which they thought would not a little contribute to the reviving of their Cause, whilst continual jangling and and dissentions would thereby arise betwixt the Republicans and *Cromwell*; and the Office of *King* being again introduced, the onely Quarrel would then be betwixt two Families, which of the two had the better Title, the one having it by undoubted right, and the other by none at all. And besides, thereby it would be made manifest for what cause the War was in a great part begun, to wit, the sole Ambition of *Cromwell*. But he having taken time to weigh with himself all their Opinions, thought it more modest and

suitable

ſuitable to his Intereſt, to retain his more than Regal Authority, circumſcribed by no Laws, under the ſubmiſſive Title of *Protector*, than by coveting an Auguſt Name, render himſelf ridiculous to the World. At length having called the Parliament unto him, *He tells them, That at preſent he durſt not take upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government with the Title of King*; though he was reſolved in future Parliaments to introduce it by degrees, how humbly ſoever at preſent he carried himſelf, and utterly rejected the ſame.

Cromwell *rejecting the Crown, which he ſo earneſtly coveted*

I cannot tell whether or not it be worth the mentioning, what many interpreted as a bad preſage. Whilſt the *Members* of *Parliament* were going up to the Banqueting-Houſe in *Whitehall*, to have the laſt Debate with *Cromwell* about that Affair, his eldeſt Son *Richard* being in company with them, the old Stairs by which they mounted being overcharged with weight broke with them, ſo that many fell to the ground; of whom not a few had bruiſes in their Legs and Arms, and amongſt the reſt *Richard* being grievouſly wounded, lay by it a long time.

But ſince *Cromwell* refuſed the Title of *King*, the *Parliament*, by the ſuperiority of two Voices onely, confirmed to him that of *Protector*, which he had taken before; and that they might not ſeem to have done nothing at all, they agreed about reforming the Inſtrument of Government, and added a *Houſe of Peers*, or *Lords*, to be choſen by him, *That theſe Men might as occaſion offered, be a check ſometimes to the Commons when they proceeded too haſtily.* They give him likewiſe Power of appointing his *Succeſſor* or next Heir. That no Man, however

With much ado, he obtained from the Parliament the Title of Protector,

ever lawfully elected according to the above-mentioned Conditions, should under any pretext whatsoever, be excluded from sitting in *Parliament*.

And is solemnly inaugurated by the Speaker.

On a day appointed the Members march to *Westminster-hall*, there solemnly to Inaugurate *Cromwell*, and to receive his consent. So soon as he had mounted a Stage erected for that purpose, round which the Members of Parliament sat, *Widdrington* the *Speaker* reaching to him the Enſigns of *Majesty*, to wit, a long Purple Robe lined wtth Ermin, the Holy Bible, a Sword and Scepter, thus he speaks to him, standing near him under a Canopy of State. *This Robe of Purple is an Emblem of Magistracy, and imports Righteousness and Justice; when you have put on this Vestment, I may say, you are a Gown-man. This Robe is of a mixt Colour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy. Indeed a Magistrate must have two Hands,* Plectentem & Amplectentem, *to cherish and to punish.* The Bible *is a Book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well versed. This Book of Life consists of two Testaments, the Old and New: The first shews* Christum Velatum; *the second,* Christum Revelatum; *Christ Vailed and Revealed: It is a Book of Books, and doth contain both Precepts and Examples for good Government. Here is a Scepter not unlike a Staff, for you are to be a Staff to the weak and poor: It is of Ancient use in this kind. It's said in Scripture, That* the Scepter shall not depart from *Judah. It was of like use in other Kingdoms;* Homer *the Greeck Poet calls Kings and Princes,* Scepter-bearers. *The last thing is a Sword, not a Military, but Civil Sword: it is a Sword rather of Defence than Offence; not to defend your self onely,*

nely, but your People alſo. If I might preſume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as the Valiant Lord Talbot *had upon his, it ſhould be this,* Ego ſum Domini Protectoris, ad protegendum Populum; *I am the Protectors, to protect his People.* Then having given him his Oath, and read over the *Articles of Government*, with ſound of Trumpet he is Proclaimed *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *&c.* but with faint Acclamations from the People. *Hence you may underſtand what, and how great things the Power of a Tyrant, counterfeit Virtue, Lawyer's fetches, fawning hope, anxious fear, love of novelty, and ſpecious pretexts, could, againſt all right and reaſon, bring to paſs, amongſt Men in all things elſe, for moſt part, very Prudent and Wiſe:* That in the like caſe I may uſe the Words of another. Theſe things being thus performed, the *Parliament* ſhortly after were diſmiſſed for three or four Months, and *Cromwell* has time to make choice of his *Peers* for the *other Houſe.*

The ſink of Heretics of theſe times:

But we muſt not omit to take notice in this place of that unbridled licentiouſneſs of Heretics, which grew greater and greater daily. Beſides *Arrianiſm* againſt the Divinity of our *Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*, and other abominable Errours, which one *Biddle* profanely and yet ſafely maintained before the Parliament; the Blaſphemies alſo of *Copps* againſt the Holy Name of *God*; and *Fry*, who heretofore ſcattred his Poiſons in the *Parliament-Houſe*; beſides *Erbury*, who as with impunity he ſowed the monſtrous Seeds of Hereſies amongſt the Souldiers, and in the City, whilſt he was in health, ſo dying he breathed out his laſt in *Blaſphemy*; *Saltmarſh* alſo, and other *Sectarians*, whoſe Fanatical Errours,

rours, by the Enthusiasm of *Cromwell*, and the other *Officers* of the Army, were again conjured from Hell; a new and unheard-of Generation of *Quakers* sprung up, of whom the *Parliament* brought before them a considerable Ring-leader, that I shall now briefly discourse of.

Of whom Naylor *had the impudence to give himself out for Jesus Christ;*

James Naylor was the Man, who had heretofore served under *Lambert*, and now had the impudence to personate *Jesus Christ*, imitating his Words, Looks, and Carriage: And to so great madness he grew, that his Boldness encreasing through the Applauses of some, and the Admiration of others, he would represent him in all things. For mounting a Horse Colt, he came riding towards the City of *Bristol*, those of his *Sect* strewing the Way with Leaves and Boughs of Trees, and crying, *Hosanna, Hosanna, Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.* But the Madness stops not here neither; for the distracted Fellow affects Divine Honours, as if he could raise the Dead, heal the Sick, and fast after the Example of *Christ*. At length the *Parliament* tired out with the continued Clamours of Accusers, having cited him to appear before them, sentence him to be publickly Whipp'd, Pilloried, and committed to perpetual Imprisonment. But the Parliament being dissolved, this Monster of Mankind was set at liberty by an Order of the *Rump*-Parliament, when it revived again.

Until he was Whipt and Imprisoned, who deserved a thousand times to be put to Death.

About that time *Cromwell*'s Life was in danger from one *Sundercome* a Republican. It was said, that he was suborned by *Alonso de Cardenas*, formerly Embassador in *England* from the King of *Spain*, and then living in *Flanders*, to kill him. He had often taken a House fit for committing the Fact; but his Hopes always failing

Sundercome *a Republican plots against* Cromwell.

failing him, he got him a Blunderbuss that could discharge twelve Bullets at a time, resolving with that, out of an Arbor upon the side of the Rode, where the Way grows narrow, at *Hammersmith* near *London*, to shoot *Cromwell* as he past in his Coach to *Hampton-Court*, and forthwith mounting a fleet Horse, make his Escape on the opposite side. But because there was a necessity of having another privy to the Design, when the time that he was to go drew near, one *Toop* belonging to the Guards is engaged in the Plot. But one *Assassine* betrays another; *Toop*, *Sundercome*: who that he might be the first that suffered for Treason under this Government, by a new Statute is arraigned, and condemned for conspiring the Death of the *Protector*. However, some few hours before the time of his designed Execution, he was found dead in his Bed, though his Body appeared sound, there being no Marks of Violence either inwardly or outwardly to be discovered. Of which thing, according to the diversity of Humours, People might severally judge as they pleased.

Who being betray'd by another Conspirator, is brought to a Tryal, and condemned:

But he prevented the Executioner by a sudden Death.

In the mean while the fiercer *Fifth-Monarchy*-men and *Republicans*, making all the Preparations they could for a sudden Insurrection against the new *Monarchy* in the Bud, are discovered, and presently seised; amongst other things, a Standard being taken, bearing a *Lion Couchant*, with this Inscription, *Quis suscitabit eum? Who shall rouse him?* This Rising then being wholly defeated, *Lamson* a Sea-Commander, Colonel *Harrison*, *Rich*, and several *Officers* of the Army, with *Danvers*, and others, who could not endure the Regal Authority of *Cromwell*, are clapp'd up in Prison. *Lambert* also, when he perceived

The Republicans rising are apprehended.

perceived that all his Hopes of Succession were cut off by an Ordinance of *Parliament*, began to tack about, and strike in with the *Republicans*: Which so soon as *Cromwell* had notice of, he presently recalled his Commission, and disbanded him, appointing *Fleetwood* to be next to himself in Power; for he thought it neither safe nor fit, that he should have the Chief Command in the Army, who professed himself an open Enemy to the Civil Government.

Lambert being Disbanded,

Fleetwood is put in his place.

Cromwell, in the mean time, that he might by fair and gentle means draw over more of the *Republicans*, and endear them to himself, promoted many of them into the *House of Lords*, that they might seem to share with himself in the Government; but such mean Fellows, of no Birth nor Merit, raised out of the Dregs of the Rabble, who were contemptible and ridiculous to the real *Lords* and *Peers*, could neither give nor receive any Splendour or Nobility. Would ye have a List of some of them? Let *Pride* then lead the Dance; a most abject Rascal, who had served a Brewer; and that he might now with greater security cheat the Publick, he purchases a Grant for Brewing Beer for the *Protector*'s Family, and for serving the *Fleet* at Sea. *Huson* was another, who not long before cobbled old Shoes in a Stall. *Berkstead*, who heretofore sold Needles, Bodkins, and Thimbles, and would have run on an Errand any where for a little Money; but who now by *Cromwell* was preferred to the Honourable Charge of Lieutenant of the *Tower of London*. *Cooper*, who had been a Haberdasher of Small-wares in *Southwark*. *Berry*, a Woodmonger; and *Whaley*, a broken Clothier, who had removed into *Scotland* until the breaking out

Cromwells *Lords of the very dregs of the People,*

out of the Wars. I ſhall name no more of them, that I may not turn the Readers Stomach. In the mean time, he joyns to them for Companions five or ſix of the Ancient Nobility, and gives them place in the *Houſe of Lords*, who nevertheleſs refuſe to herd with the reſt, and all refrain the Houſe, that they might not pollute their Blood by ſuch a Contagion. Others called out of the Houſe of Commons to this Other Houſe, prefer their own Seats, and will not be reckoned amongſt thoſe *Peers*. The two Sons, and one Son-in-Law of *Cromwell*, are brought into this Houſe: For it is to be obſerved, that he had lately married his two younger Daughters (the eldeſt having formerly married to *Cleypole*) the one to Mr. *Rich*, Nephew to the then Earl of *Warwick*, who lived not long after; and the other to the Lord *Falconberge*, of whom now we ſpeak; *Henry Cromwell* his younger Son, whom he made Deputy of *Ireland*, and *Richard* the elder: of whom, ſince I am to mention him in the Sequel, it will be fit I ſpeak a little at preſent, before I leave this *Houſe of Lords*.

Some of the Nobility being mingled with them who diſdain, ſuch companions:

Falconberge alſo his Son-in-law, and both his own Sons.

That *Cromwell* might remove all ſuſpicion of arrogating to himſelf and Family the Supreme Authority, he ſends his eldeſt Son *Richard* into the Country, to take his Pleaſure in Hunting and Hawking: Where he, a Man of a good Nature, courteous and affable, far from the Tricks of his Father, receiving the Common People hoſpitably, diverting himſelf with the Gentry, and behaving himſelf civilly to all, beſides many good Offices that he did at Court and elſewhere, not onely gained the Applauſe of the People, but obliged a great many Perſons of Note and Quality. But at length his

Of whom he ſends Richard *to lead a Countrey Life,*

Father

Father took him off of these Toys, and by degrees inured him to Publick Business; ordering him first to sit in the *Committee of Trade*, then in the *House of Commons*, and now at last having called him, as we have just now said, up to the *House of Lords*. Besides, he made him Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, one of his Privy-Council, and a *Colonel* of the Army; that he might shew him not onely to the People, but to the Soldiers; and that he might intimate with all, and as much as he could make himself Friends by Conversation.

Who at length is made Chancellour of the University of Oxford, *and one of his Father's Privy Council.*

And now the day was come when the whole *Parliament* was to meet, as well the *Republicans*, who in the beginning of the Parliament had been excluded by *Cromwell*, for refusing to subscribe to the Condition required, as the *Lords* or *Peers* who by *Oliver's* Writ filled the Upper House. But the Reader cannot but wonder, how disdainfully the Members of the Lower House looked upon those new *Lords*, asking them with scorn, *By what Authority they sate? to what end? and for what purpose were they called hither?* Nay, they could not refrain from ridiculing and scoffing at them, nor be induced to have any thing to do, or consult in common with these Men. On the contrary, the *Lords* (as they were instructed by *Cromwell*) fawned, complied, wheadled, and courted their Friendship, leaving no means unessayed whereby they might soften and make them more gentle. But they continue to be morose, untractable, and refractory to every thing. Which *Cromwell* observing, and especially because he understood that the *Cavaliers* were hatching new Designs, that the King was in a readiness, with I know not how many thousand Men, to invade *England*;

A Parliament of two Houses, who agree ill betwixt themselves, the Bastard Peers being despised by the Lower-House.

land; and that the *Marquess of Ormond* was really in the Land, secretly labouring to raise the Country; for these Reasons he forthwith dissolved that fictitious, and, as I may say, Comical Parliament.

And therefore that Parliament is dissolved.

It was not long before the Stirs began more clearly to appear; one *Corker*, a Parson in *Sussex*, who nevertheless had heretofore had a hand in killing *Rainsborough* at *Doncaster*, Sir *Richard Willis*, and many others, who had served and been well rewarded by the *King*, and had opportunity of passing to and again betwixt *Cromwell* and *His Majesty*, and discovering all secret Intrigues, having basely betrayed the Design. A General Insurrection was designed almost all over *England*, especially in *Hull*, *London*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, and many other Places; which the King himself, with Foreign Forces commanded by *Marsin*, intended to Head. But all proved in vain; the Matter, as we have said, having been discovered to *Cromwell* by treacherous and clandestine Spies.

New Designs of the Cavaliers are disappointed by Cromwell, *they being discovered by secret Spies.*

The Marquess of *Ormond* with much ado made his Escape, having by the Assistance of Doctor *Quarterman* procured a Boat in *Sussex*: And now a vast number of Persons apprehended, are loaded with the suspicion of guilt: and therefore the High Court of Justice, a true Object of Derision, had it not been polluted with Blood, is again appointed, *Lisle* being President. Before this Court are brought *Mordant* Son to the Earl of *Peterborough*, two *Stapleys*, *Woodcock*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, *Hewet* Doctor of Divinity, *Mallory*, *Rivers*, *Dyke*, and many more. *Hewet* is condemned for Contumacy, in not acknowledging the Authority of the Court. *Slingsby*, because being formerly a Prisoner in

Many are brought to Trial for their Life.

Hull, he had treated with *Waters* about the Delivery of *Hull*-Fort into the hands of the *King*. *Mordant* is absolved by the Majority onely of one Voice; when within a quarter of an hour after *Pride* came in, who would certainly have voted to the contrary: so near he seemed to the very Jaws of Death. *Woodcock* defended himself so ingeniously, that he came off. The rest were either not found Guilty, or obtained *Cromwell*'s Pardon for accusing of others, or, in short, were condemned of High Treason. *Hewet* and *Slingsby* were both beheaded. But four others were drawn, hanged, and quartered, their Privy Members and Bowels burnt, their Heads set up upon *London*-Bridge, and their Quarters upon four Gates of the City. The *Common* sort being safe by their Number, after a long Imprisonment, at length denying the Fact upon Oath, are dismissed. Thus they who for attempting to slay a *Tyrant* deserved a Triumphal Arch, and highest Honours, falling into the bloody Hands of their Enemies, suffer a cruel and ignominious Death.

Two of the more remarkable are beheaded: Four others drawn, hanged, and quartered

But that he might provide against such Stirs for the future, and more securely settle his ill-got and unsafe Government, besides the Soldiers of the Army, he levies Troops of Horse in the several Counties, which for the most part were made up of *Voluntiers*, whom either ambition of domineering, hope of Preferment, prospect of Booty, or at least the tediousness of an idle and lazy Life, allured into the Service. Of these he gave the Command to some of his Relations and fast Friends. Though at present their Pay was but small, Eight pound a year, yet by getting into profitable Places, and plundring the Cavaliers upon all occasions, they were

Cromwell for greater security levies new Troops of Horse consisting of Voluntiers.

were in good hopes of feathering their Nests. Their Duty was to watch over the Counties, to be present at Publick Fairs and other numerous Meetings, to hinder private Assemblies and Concourses of People, to exact the Taxes from those who were either slow or unwilling to pay them, by Free-Quarters, and Fines imposed upon them; to seise, besides, suspected Persons, search their Houses, take from them the Arms which they might have for defending themselves against Thieves in the Night-time, and, in a word, to suppress instantly all Stirs, if any hapned, in the bud.

Blake is again, but now the last time, to appear upon the Stage. He being this year sent to cruise in the *Atlantick* Ocean, had Intelligence that the *Spanish* Fleet, richly laden with Silver and Plate, had out of fear put into the Island of *Tenariff*, resolving to keep in the Port of *Sancta Cruce*, until *Blake* should be forced to return home, either by the Winter Weather, or the want of Victuals and Provisions. Wherefore steering his Course thither, he found the Harbour in shape of a Crescent, defended by seven Forts lying round it, and two Castles placed at the Points, with seventeen Ships riding therein, their Heads standing towards the Mouth of the Harbour, that they might fire with greater certainty upon those that offered to enter: nor could the *Governour* forbear to jear and flout at the *English*. *Blake* therefore entring the Mouth of the Harbour with his Frigats, thunders Broadsides and small Shot against the Castles, till the Soldiers flying from thence, he Manned his Boats with Seamen, and sent them in, who destroyed and burnt all the *Spanish* Ships that were there. Which being done,

Blake with unparallell'd boldness burns the Spanish Fleet in the very Harbour of Sancta Cruce.

done, he made use of a favourable Wind, which as it had brought him thither, so carried him off again, more satisfied with his Revenge than Booty.

His Death, Character, and Actions.

But farewell to *Blake*, who in that Expedition died of a *Scurvey* and *Dropsie*: A Man deserving Praise even from an Enemy; who having heretofore diligently plied his Studies, took his Degree of *Master of Arts* in *Wadham-College* in *Oxford*, and lived long a quiet and Country-life in *Somersetshire*; till afterward, the Civil War breaking out, he was engaged into the Service by some *Parliamentarians*, and defended *Lime* and *Taunton* even to a Miracle against the *King*. Then being advanced to a Command at Sea, he subdued the Isles of *Silly* at home; after which, being honoured with the Title and Place of *Admiral*, he became famous by many Actions abroad: For he humbled the Pride of *France*, reduced *Portugal* into order, broke the Strength of the *Dutch*, and drove them off of the Sea, suppressed the Pyrats, and, lastly, triumphed twice over *Spain*: In this alone to be blamed, that he stuck to the Side of the *Parricides*.

The Dane makes War against the Swede, now victorious in Poland.

About that time a dreadful War broke out betwixt two Northern Nations. *Frederick* the Third, King of *Denmark*, egg'd on by his Confederates the King of *Poland* and Elector of *Brandenburg*, invades the Territories of *Carolus Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, then Victorious in *Poland*; and breaking the Truce, besieges *Bremersford*, and other strong Places in *Bremen*. Which so soon as *Carolus Gustavus* had Intelligence of, leaving *Poland* the best way he could, he marched his Forces through *Cassue*, *Pomerania*, and the Dutchy of *Mecklenbourg*, into *Holstein*.

The Swede hastning his return, invades Denmark; revenges himself on the Dane, and reduces him to extremity.

stein, recovers what he had lost, and drives *Frederick*, who was unable to give him Battel, into the Islands; then he over-runs all *Jutland* and *Holstein*; and having the opportunity of a hard Winter, (not without danger to himself and Army,) he boldly marched over the Sea, upon the Ice, into *Fuinen*; and having subdued it, and the Islands about, one after another, in the same manner he enters *Zeeland*, divided from them by a narrow Frith, where, by the same Storm of a sudden War, he had overwhelmed *Copenhagen*, had not a Peace been made at *Roschild*, by the Mediation of *Medows*, (who with *Jepson* was by *Oliver* sent from *England* as Mediators of Peace, he to the *Swede*, and the other to the *Dane*) and the Intervention of the Embassadors of other Princes: for which timely Service King *Frederick* made *Medows* Knight of the *Elephant*, and a Nobleman of *Denmark*: And King *Charles* the Second of *England*, as a Testimony of His Favour for the good Offices done to his Kinsman, honoured him likewise with Knighthood.

The War breaking out again afterward betwixt the *Kings*, the *Swede* having possessed himself of *Cronebery*, and the greatest part of *Denmark*, and blocked up *Copenhagen* by a long and obstinate Siege, both Parties implore the Assistance of Neighbouring Nations; *Carolus Gustavus*, of the *English*, and *Frederick*, of the *Dutch*. The *Swede* wanted Ships and Seamen; the *Dane*, all kind of Relief, to wit, Soldiers, Ships, and Ammunition. The *Swede* offered the *English* for their Security, and a Reward of their Pains, *Gluckstadt*, with a small Territory on the other side of the *Elbe* (which nevertheless was not in his power), and *Leth*-Fort upon

Afterward he demands Assistance from the English, *and the* Dane *from the* Dutch.

the River *Weſe*. But the *Engliſh* demanding either *Gottenberg* on the *Baltick Sea* near the *Sound*, or *Elſenburg* that lies in the Mouth of the *Baltick*, *Cromwell* and the *Swede* diſagree about the Terms. Nevertheleſs, *Oliver* hits put a pretty conſiderable Fleet in *England*; and, that he might watch all Opportunities of advantage for the *Engliſh*, ſends it into *Denmark*, under the Command of *Goodſon*; but the Ice and Winter-Colds hindred it from advancing beyond *Scagen*: and at length *Richard* ſent a greater, under the Command of Admiral *Montague*, who was afterwards made Earl of *Sandwich*, and Knight of the Garter. But the *Dutch* being ſecure that the *Engliſh* would not interfere and moleſt them, that they might maintain a Free Trade through the *Sound*, and at the ſame time aſſiſt the *King of Denmark*, reduced to the utmoſt extremity, fitted out a Fleet, under the Command of General *Opdam*, provided with all Neceſſaries; which having engaged in a Sea-fight with the *Swedes*, with equal Loſs on both Sides, they ſupplied *Copenhagen* with Ammunition, and plenty of all Proviſions.

Cromwell ſends thither a Fleet, and two Mediators.

The Dutch *likewiſe aſſiſt the* Dane, *having fought the* Swedes *at Sea.*

To *Flanders* now the ſeries of this ſhort Hiſtory calls me, where the Affairs of the *Spaniards* began to decline and grow daily worſe and worſe. A well appointed Army of ſix thouſand *Engliſh* under the Command of *Reynolds* is landed at *Calis*; of which ſome aſſiſt the *French* in taking *Montmidy*, and being afterwards all joyned with the *French*, they take *Mardyke* Fort two Miles diſtant from *Dunkirk*, which was given to the *Engliſh* to be kept during the Winter, who fortifie it round with Paliſadoes, beſides a Wall and Ditch, and render it impregnable. Nevertheleſs the moſt illuſtrious Duke of *York* reſolved

The French *by the aſſiſtance of the* Engliſh *take* Montmidy; *and preſently after* Mardyke *Fort, which is given to the* Engliſh *to be defended.*

solved to attaque it, bringing therefore about four thousand Men before it, partly *English*, *Scots*, and *Irish*, and partly *Spaniards*, he attacks it in the Night-time by an Assault. But he found *Morgan* Governour of the place in a readiness, who in watchfulness was not inferiour to him; but in this much superiour, that under the cover of a strong Fort he fought against an Enemy in the open Fields; wherefore after he had by all ways attempted, but in vain, to storm the place, at length he sounded the Retreat: But the *Marshall d'Aumont* came not so well off at *Ostend*; for being tempted thither by hopes given him that the Town would be betray'd into his Hands, he payd for his rash hopes, himself being made Prisoner, and many brave Men killed.

The Duke of York *in vain attempts it.*

Next Spring *Marshall Turen* having taken in *Graveling*, he came with a vast Army of *French* and *English* to Besiege *Dunkirk*, and quickly invested the Town by Land, the *English* Ships blocking it up by Sea. For it was necessary either to reduce that Key of *Flanders* under the Power of the *French*, or to try the uncertain Fortune of War, Affairs being as yet doubtful. On the other hand, if the *Spaniards* suffered it to be taken, besides the loss of the profit which they made by Piracy and Traffick, the *English* would also deprive them of the rest of their Ports, (for they easily conjectured, that *Dunkirk* would fall into the Hands of the *English*) and open to themselves a way of bringing an Army into the Heart of the Countrey. Therefore, *Don John* of *Austria*, Governour of *Flanders*, resolved to hazard a Battel. For that end, having drawn out of the Garrisons about some fifteen thousand Men, to which were added

Graveling *being taken*, Dunkirk *is Besieged*;

For the relief of which, Don John of Austria *comes*.

four Regiments but half compleat in Men, under the Duke of *York*, he poſſeſſes himſelf of the Sandy Hills, half a Mile diſtant from *Turen*'s Camp, there, as occaſion ſerved, to hinder or raiſe the Siege. But next Morning *Turen* having left Men enough in the Trenches, to prevent the ſallying out of the Garriſon, with the reſt of the Army, in this manner attacks the *Spaniards*. About three hundred *Engliſh* under the Command of *Dorrax* are ordered to march up the Hill, and beat the *Spaniards* from thence, two thouſand following after, and four thouſand to ſecond them, the Horſe being placed on the Wings, and behind in the Rear. The *Spaniards* being drawn up, bravely received the charge, with confuſed ſhouts of mixt Nations. But at length, though the looſe ſand afforded no ſure footing to thoſe that marched up, and that the *Spaniards* ſhowred down continual Volleys of Shot, yet the *Engliſh* obtain the Victory, the *Spaniards* being on all hands put to flight, and killed. *The French* fall on, and were for a long time bravely reſiſted by the Duke of *York*, and his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*; but they both, the *Engliſh Red-coats* advancing, and number overpowring them, are faln to give ground, and at length are beat out of the Field. Above a thouſand were killed in that Battel, fifteen hundred private Soldiers taken, fourſcore Officers, and all the Cannon and Ammunition.

The French *fight and overcome.*

The Garriſon of *Dunkirk* nevertheleſs perſiſt in their defence, till the *Marquiſs* of *Leda* being ſhot with a Muſket Bullet, the Town loſt its Life with the Governour, and fell into the Hands of the *French* King, who, that he might perform the Articles agreed upon, gives it to

Shortly after the Governour being ſhot, the Town is taken.

our

our Countrey-men, as a Reward of their Services, and delivered it up into the Hands of *Lockart*, a *Scottish* Man, who had married *Cromwell*'s Neece, and was his Embassadour in *France*; for *Reynolds* the Winter before trolling over into *England* in a weak Vessel, that he might justifie himself before *Cromwell*, from a Crime of Treason that he was accused of, as if he had entertained a Correspondence with the Duke of *York*, was cast away at Sea. The same Year, the *French*, with the assistance of the *English*, possessed themselves of *Winoxbergh*, *Furn*, *Ypres*, *Oudenard*, and many other places, their Horse ravaging all *Flanders* almost. So way was made for a Treaty betwixt the *French King* and *Spaniard*, whereupon a Marriage after ensued.

And given to the English *as a Reward for their Service.*

Let us now return home, and view at nearer distance the Preludes of *Cromwell*'s approaching Death. Whilst he is delighted with *Triumphs* beyond Sea, he is hampered at home with difficulties and gnawing Cares. Besides the Death of his dearly beloved Daughter, the Lady *Claypole*, who died of an inward Imposthume in her Loins with great agony and pain, after she had in her Hysterical fits much disquieted him, by upbraiding him sometimes with one of his Crimes, and sometimes with another, according to the furious distraction of that Disease: The *Republicans* created him continual troubles and vexation, especially seeing his Son-in-law *Fleetwood* and his Wife seemed to favour these men, excuse, and intercede for them; nay, he refrained coming to his Father-in-laws House, though he lived hard by, and ought to have comforted his dying Sister amidst the mourning and bewailings of her Relations; and though

Cromwel *began to be sick, first in Mind,*

For the Death of his dearest Daughter,

And the Republicans *that grew daily grew stronger,*

though *Cromwell* (as he told it to some) had made him his Heir in his last Will and Testament. Besides, *Desborough*, who had married his Sister, *Pickering* also, and *Sidenham*, whom he had made Privy Counsellors, had secret meetings with *Lambert*, and other leading Men of the *Republican* Party, whom they openly magnified and extolled.

Presently after being taken with a slight Fever,

But all his Distemper was not in his Mind alone; for, shortly after, he was taken with a slow Fever, that at length degenerated into a Bastard Tertian Ague. For a Weeks time the Disease so continued without any dangerous symptoms, (as appearing sometimes one, and sometimes another kind of distemper) that every other Day he walked abroad: but after Dinner his five Physicians coming to wait upon him, one of them having felt his pulse, said, that it intermitted; at which suddenly startled, he looked pale, fell into a Cold Sweat, almost fainted away, and orders himself to be carried to Bed, where being refreshed with Cordials, he made his Will, but onely about his Privat and Domestick Affairs. Next Morning early, when one of his Physicians came to visit him, he asked him, *why he looked so sad?* And when he made Answer, *That so it becomes any one, who had the weighty care of his Life and Health upon him*; *Ie Physicien*, said he, *think I shall die*: Then the Company being removed, holding his Wife by the Hand, to this purpose he spoke to him, *I tell you, I shall not die this hour; I am sure on't.* And because he observed him to look more attentively upon him at these words, *Don't think* (said he) *that I am mad; I speak the Words of Truth, upon surer grounds than Galen or your Hippocrates furnish you with. God Almighty*

Which at length confined him to his Bed;

Though he was secure of recovering,

Trusting rashly to his silly Ministers and Flatterers,

Almighty himself hath given that Answer, not to my Prayers alone, but also to the Prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce, and greater intimacy with him. Go on chearfully, banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would do with a Serving-man. Ye may have skill in the Nature of things, yet Nature can do more than all Physicians put together; and God is far more above Nature. But being ordered to take his rest, because he had not slept the greatest part of the Night, as the Physician was coming out of the Chamber, he accidentally met another, who had been a long time very familiar with him; to whom, *I am afraid*, says he, *our Patient will be light-headed.* Then said he, *You are certainly a Stranger in this House: Don't you know what was done last Night? The Chaplains, and all who are dear to God, being dispersed into several parts of the Palace, have prayed to God for his Health, and all have brought this Answer, He shall recover.* Nay, to this degree of madness they came, that a Publick Fast being for his sake kept at *Hampton Court*, they did not so much pray to God for his Health, as thank him for the undoubted pledges of his Recovery; and repeated the same at *Whitehall*.

Who feed the Dying-man with vain hopes, and mock God himself with their Thanks-givings.

These Oracles of the *Saints* were the cause that the Physicians spake not a word of his danger. In the mean time *Cromwell* leaving *Hampton Court*, where hitherto he had lain sick, is brought to *London*; and the Physitians meet at a Consultation in the Chamber of the aforementioned Doctor, who at that time was troubled with a grievous *Head-ach*, and an *Impostume* in his Ear. But next Morning early another Physician coming, who had watched all Night with the Patient, and telling the rest, how

From Hampton-Court he is brought to London.

The Disease growing more dangerous,

how ill he had been in the last fit, they all conclude that he could hardly out-live another. This Sentence of the *Physicians* awaking the Privy Council, at an appointed time they come to advise him, that he would name his Successour.

He is advised by his Counsellors to name his Successour;

But when in a drowsy fit he answered out of purpose, they again ask him, if he did not name *Richard* his eldest Son for his Successour, to which he answered, *Yes.* Then being asked where his Will was which heretofore he had made concerning the Heirs of the *Kingdom*, he sent to look for it in his Closet, and other places, but in vain; for he had either burnt it himself, or some body else had stole it. And so *Richard* being nominated his Heir, the Day following, being the third of *September*, he yielded up the Ghost about three of the Clock in the Afternoon; not, (as it was commonly reported) carried away by the *Devil* at Midnight, but in clear Day-light, and the same Day that he had twice defeated the *Scots*. His Body being opened; in the *Animal* parts, the Vessels of the Brain seemed to be overcharged; in the Vitals the Lungs a little inflamed; but in the *Natural*, the source of the distemper appeared; the *Spleen*, though sound to the Eye, being within filled with matter like to the Lees of Oyl. Nor was that Incongruous to the Disease that for a long time he had been subject unto, seeing for at least thirty years he had at times heavily complained of Hypochondriacal indispositions. Though his Bowels were taken out, and his Body filled with Spices, wrapped in a fourfold Cerecloath, but put first into a Coffin of Lead, and then into a Wooden one, yet it purged and wrought through all, so that there was a necessity of interring it before the Solemnerals.

And so his Son Richard *nominated, shortly after he died,* Sept. 3. 1658.

The Spleen of all other parts of his Body when opened, found most affected.

But

But ſtill his *Character* is wanting; which without prejudice, and waving what we before obſerved in the ſeries of the Hiſtory, thus take. He was born of honeſt Parents in *Huntingtonſhire*, and from a Child gave no obſcure proofs of *Enthuſiaſm*. For, as I have had it from credible Perſons, when he was a Child he reported, that one appeared to him in the likeneſs of a Man, who told him that he ſhould be a *King*; which his School-maſter being acquainted with, whipt him for it, by his Fathers direction. He laid an unſolid Foundation of Learning at *Cambridge*; but he was ſoon cloy'd with Studies, delighting more in Horſes, and in Paſtimes abroad in the Fields. However, from one Indecent Action the Reader may conclude of the extravagance of his Youth. Sir *Oliver Cromwell* his Uncle, an honeſt, good Gentleman, far from the Humours of the Nephew, after the old manner kept *Chriſtmas*, with Muſick, Dancing, and the other Diverſions of a chearful heart, a Maſter of the Revels (as the Cuſtom was) preſiding in their Plays; when, my Gentleman obſerving a great many got together, daubs over his own Boots and Gloves with Ordure, and crouding in amongſt the reſt whilſt they were a Dancing, beſmears the Clothes of the *Maſter of the Revels*, and other Gueſts; ſo that the whole Houſe was perfumed, but not with the ſcent of *Frankincenſe*. Therefore the *Maſter of the Revels* cauſed him to be Horſed upon a Pole, carried upon the Shoulders of ſome of the ſtronger Youths, and ſo plunged over Head and Ears in the next Pond, there to be throughly rinſed. I would add a great many more of ſuch his naſty pranks, if I were not afraid to offend the Readers Modeſty.

Cromwells *Character.*

His Birth.

Childiſh Enthuſiaſms.

And Scurrility.

After

After the Death of his Father, in his Youth, he married a Gentlewoman; but by his profuse and luxurious way of living, in a short time he squandered away both his own and Wives Estate, so that he was almost reduced to Beggary. Afterward, playing the Penitent, he gave himself wholly over to the *hearing of Sermons, reading of Godly Books, and Works of Mortification*; and having hired a Brewhouse, as if he would now Brew better than he had Baked, he plied the Brewing Trade and Husbandry. After that, by means of Sir *Robert Steward*, some *Royalists*, and *Clergy-men*, he was reconciled to his Uncle, who could not before endure him, so that he made him his Heir. But shortly after, having again run out of all, he resolved to go to *New-England*, and prepares all things for that end. In the mean time, by the help of *Sectaries*, he was chosen a Member of Parliament; where finding fit Companions, mad partly through Ambition, and partly through *Zeal* and *Religion*, he omitted no opportunity of fomenting Debates, and raising Calumnies to the prejudice of the *King*, inventing Tales, stirring up the Embers, and blowing about Sparks of Division, till at length he put all into a fair Flame and Combustion. The War afterwards breaking out, he served as a Captain, and really was so, against his own *King*, *Charles* the First, a *Prince* of ever Blessed Memory. But reflecting with himself on the continual Victories of the *Cavaliers*, he told the *Parliamentarians*, that the Rabble would never be able to fight against the *King*, whose *Army* consisted of Gentlemen, because of the disparity of the Cause and Motives, *Honour* moving the one, and *Pay* the other: but if they desired to fight with

His youthful Luxury and Repentance.

His Penury and Want.

His Prejudice against the King.

He advises the Parliamentarians.

with equal Courage, and overcome the Enemy, they muſt look out for and raiſe good honeſt Soldiers, that would fight meerly for Conſcience-ſake, or at leaſt place ſuch Officers of their Forces. Many have often heard him glory of that Advice. Having therefore obtained leave from the Parliament to raiſe a Regiment, by Letters or Meſſengers he invited the *Honeſt Men* (as he was pleaſed to call them) from among all the Soldiers in the ſeveral Counties, with whom he had had any acquaintance, and perſuaded them to take on with him. Wherefore *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, and, in a word, all the Sink of *Fanaticks*, come flocking to him; ſo that he made up above a thouſand Horſe: who in the beginning being unskilful either in handling their Arms, or managing a Horſe, by Diligence and Induſtry became in proceſs of time moſt excellent Soldiers; for *Cromwell* uſed them daily to look after, feed, and dreſs their Horſes, and, when it was needful, to lie together on the ground; and beſides, taught them to clean and keep their Arms clear, and have them ready for Service, to chuſe the beſt Armour, and to arm themſelves to the beſt advantage. Trained up in this kind of Military Exerciſe, they excelled all their Fellow-Soldiers in Feats of War, and obtained more Victories over their Enemy. This was the beginning of the *New Model*, as they called it. Theſe were preferred to be *Commanders* and *Officers* in moſt part of the Troops of the Army; the places of Private Soldiers being filled up with luſty ſtrong Fellows, whom *Oliver* trained up and kept in very ſtrict Diſcipline. Afterward he was made *Major-General* of the Horſe, then *Lieutenant-General*, and at laſt *General*;

His Military Diſcipline.

His Command and Rule.

neral; till, after all, he raised himself to the Dignity of *Protector*, and invaded the highest Place of Honour and Authority. When he was thus mounted to the top of Preferment, his first care was to break down the Steps by which he ascended, lest Rivals might climb up by the same means. Few have hitherto applied greater Industry than he in the Administration of the *Commonwealth*. What is Philosophically said of others, I may with probability affirm of him; to wit, That he had two Assistant Spirits, a *good*, and a *bad*; and that when he knocked his Breast, poured out his Prayers, Sighs, and Tears, promising all things that were good, he was acted by his good *Genius*; but when by Lying and Fallacies he carried on his Cheats, his wicked and Traiterous Designs, then was he prompted by his bad *Genius* or *Spirit*. *He was not unworthy of Government, had he not invaded it by Villany, Fraud, Treachery, and the Blood not only of others, but of his own Prince also.*

His way of Ruling.

Next day, *Richard*, his eldest Son, is by the Privy-Counsellors, after mutual Consultation, saluted *Protector*; and is by a Herald proclaimed, first in the conspicuous Places in *London*, and then all over *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. Nay, the *Officers* of the Army though they hatched in their Breasts contrary Counsels, which were not as yet come to maturity, came to Congratulate him, and under their Hand-writing promised to be true to, and defend him. But he was far from aspiring to it out of Ambition, and his Genius was so far from affecting Rule, having observed, that though in the worst of time the factious prevailed, and the *Republicans* proudly insulted, especially

Richard takes into his Hands the Reins of Government,

Not so much out of his own Ambition, as indeed by the Allurements of others.

over

over the Cavaliers, yet Juſtice uſed commonly to follow ſuch Practices at the heels, that he would have been content rather to have led a private Life in Peace, free from hatred and danger. But Allurements and the fawnings of Fortune blaſting his Youthful Mind, and being tickled (as it is natural to Man) with the ſplendour of *Government*, he at length complies with the temptation. I know not what madneſs of the People ſpurred him likewiſe on to it; who in a kind of a Phrenſie brought him from all parts, to the number of ninety Congratulatory Addreſſes, that they might worſhip the Riſing-ſun.

Richard makes a magnificent Funeral for his Father *Oliver Cromwell*, at a vaſt charge; which his Counſellers adviſed him to, for this end, that being already ſufficiently burdened with Debts, he might be reduced to greater want of Money. But it was debated amongſt the *Officers*, whether they ſhould accompany the Funeral in deep and cloſe Mourning, for fear that being peſtered in that Habit, a Regiment or two of *Cavaliers* dropping out of the Clouds to diſturb the Solemnitie, they might not be able to defend themſelves, though Soldiers were planted all along on both ſides of the way for their ſecurity. He was buried in *Weſtminſter Abby* Church, which is ſo Conſpicuous for the Monuments of our *Kings*, that *Europe* cannot exceed it in ſtately and ſumptuous Tombs; as if he were there to give Laws to the Ghoſts of *Princes*, whom he proſecuted with ſo much hatred whilſt alive. *Ireton*, *Bradſhaw*, and all the crew of the *Regicides* aſpired alſo to that Burial amongſt the Royal Aſhes.

Cromwells *expenſive Funeral*,

And Enterment amongſt Royal Aſhes.

This Farce is no ſooner ended, but another preſently comes upon the Stage. For the *Re-*

The Republicans *ill affected towards* Richard.

publicans Plot and undermine, and by degrees attempt the ruine of *Richard*, which they had before hatched in their Minds. First they repair to *Fleetwood*'s House, upon pretext of Duty, and of joyning together in *Prayers* after their accustomed manner: they glance at things first, at a distance; and reconcile *Lambert* and other disbanded *Officers* to *Desborough*, and those that still were in Office in the Army. By and by, they discourse of the Charge of *Protector*, as if by right it belonged to *Fleetwood*, and by *Cromwells* last Will, whilst he was *Compos mentis*, designed for him; but that *Richard* was in a surreptitious manner, and by the craft of some of the Council substituted, when his Father had lost his Senses; that it concerned them to be governed by a Pious and Expert *Leader*, such as had been tried in many difficulties. So the Firebrand of Contention being once thrown in amongst them, they proceed by all ways to blow it, and by fresh Fewel to raise it to a Flame. The Relations being by this means put at variance, and mutually incensed one against another, the Private Soldiers are tampered with to side with them; and that they might not seem to lose their labour, for their sakes, they desire that the Soldiers may have their full pay, which in latter times was cut short by two pence a week.

They endeavour to set Fleetwood *and him together by the Ears.*

The next thing brought under debate, is the Government of the *Army*. *Cromwell* had ruled Arbitrarily by meer Despotical Authority, turning out any *Officer* or Soldier at his pleasure, and putting others in their places; no Man must now take so much upon himself, nor enjoy so unlimited a Prerogative. Therefore the Soldiers come to a Petition, wherein they

they humbly desire, that for the future, *No Soldier be turned out of place without a Council of War, nor that any Action be brought against a Soldier but according to Martial Law; that no Soldier be brought to Tryal for Murder, Theft, Sacrilege or Robbery, but in a Court Marshall; and that the Soldiers have the power of chooſing their own General.* These things are argued verbally before the *Protector*, and afterwards by Publick Writings and Declarations.

The Soldiers challenge to themselves extravagant Privileges.

When *Richard* perceived that the *Council of State* and *Government* were toſſed with these storms, he though it safest to betake himself to a *Parliament*, and try the aid thereof in his difficulties. Therefore a Parliament is called, to consist of two Houses, according to the Model of the *Instrument of Government*; Commissioners from *Scotland* and *Ireland* being likewise admitted; who no sooner meet, but they begin to quarrel at the new made *Lords*. These, again, are inveighed against, and it is called in question, by what Right or Law they sat in that House. Nor is there less heat in the House of Commons, betwixt the *Republicans* and *Court-Party*; the first contending, that both the *Scots* and *Irish* ought to be turned out of the Parliament of *England*, as having no right to Vote there by any Law, being meer Slaves to the *Protector*, and no ways representing the Commonwealth.

A Parliament is called, wherein much time is spent in jangling without any suit;

At length, after much Jangling, and many Reproaches, the Members of the lower House, for Reconciliation sake, Vote a present Conference with those of the *Other* House, for they studiously avoided the name of the *Upper* House, about Publick Affairs; provided, that should be no prejudice to the True and Antient *Peers*, and

Yet they are reconciled.

those, who during the War had not abandoned the *Commonwealth*.

The Instrument of Government is sifted.

Afterwards a *Recognition* in favour of *Richard* being moved, occasioned no small stirs in the House; the *Courtiers*, who were devoted to his Party, and the Republicans clashing mightily about it: taking occasion thereupon, they inveigh against the *Instrument of Government, as being extorted from a Lame Parliament, that was neither full, nor free*; and examining all the *Articles* of it, they let fly against *Cromwell*'s Ghost. Not a few who favoured the Kings Interest struck in with these, that the contrary parties being equally ballanced, nothing might on either side be agreed upon.

They recall Overton from Banishment.

Nevertheless they repeal the order for Imprisonment of *Overton* the *Republican*, as heretofore made by *Oliver Cromwell* against the standing Laws; and having sent for him from the Isle of *Jersey*, where he had been detained in Prison, they suffered him to shew himself near *Whitehall* in a triumphant manner. *Berkstead* also, Lieutenant of the *Tower of London*, and *Butler*, *Major General* of the Army, a most insolent, haughty Man, are accused of High Treason, which they thought sufficient to be done at present.

They accuse Berkstead *and* Butler *of Treason.*

The Commanders of the Army urging their Proposals,

In the mean time the Officers of the Army obstinately urge their Proposals; whose Councils were for the most part guided by many *Republican* Parliament-Men. When some perswaded *Richard*, and offered their assistance to quell these Men, by suddenly seizing the Leaders of them when they came together to hold a Council, he would not condescend; partly out of Cowardise, as not daring to oppose the raging *Officers*; and partly also out of too much

Richard *is wanting to himself.*

credulity, as being perſwaded by *Fleetwood* his Siſters Husband, and his Uncle *Desborough*, that the Army, though they deſired to enjoy their Priviledges, and that the form of Government might be a little altered, yet would not do any prejudice to his Perſon or Intereſt, which they would not make ample and ſufficient amends for. *Richard* then thought it enough, in imitation of his Father, to look big, threaten, chide, and roar. However they are not terrified, but rather provoked to greater rage by that blunt Thunderbolt; nor do they onely ſcoff and make mouths at him, but ſlight him as an Aſs, and attempt greater matters againſt him.

From hence forward, thoſe that formerly wiſhed beſt to him, abandon him in Counſel, and every way; nor do they think it worth the while to meddle in his Affairs, whom God had ſo infatuated, as to make him neglect his own Intereſt. Therefore they bequeath their Labour and Studies to the Cauſe of the *King*, as being clearly convinced at length, that that was the onely Intereſt that could juſtly and lawfully be maintained.

And is forſaken of his Friends.

But the *Officers* ſeeing their Propoſals tending to maturity, frame a *Remonſtrance*, wherein they turn the fury of their engines againſt the Name of *Malignants*; complaining, *That the Good Old Cauſe was forgot, that the Aſſerters of it were every where vilified, the great Patrons and Patriots of it* (the Kings Judges) *put into Printed Liſts, and marked for deſtruction, with the ruin of all the Godly and the Cauſe together; that many Cavaliers came daily from beyond Sea, and in preſence of the People aſſerted the Kings Cauſe, and Conſulted together*; with much more of this Nature.

The Officers publiſh a Remonſtrance,

They pray, *that theſe things may ſpeedily be redreſſed*; giving no obſcure marks of their Inclination of bringing in a *Democracy* again. This they deſire *Richard* to repreſent to the Parliament, ſcaring him thus with Lightning before the Thunderclap. But the *Parliament*, (ſome true *Republicans* being amongſt them) out of deſign, as ſome thought, that he might have the Army againſt him, paſs a very imperious Vote, *Prohibiting any number of Officers and Soldiers to meet together for holding of Conſults, until the Parliament ſhould determine about theſe Affairs*: Which *Richard* delivering both in his own, and in Name of the Parliament, and commanding their Conſults to ceaſe, in a full meeting of the Officers; *Desborough* takes him up for it; ſo that the *Officers* becoming fiercer and more angry, they apply themſelves to the *Lieutenancy* of the Militia of *London*, and allure them to a conſent, and to joyn with them, that being involved in the ſame guilt with them, they might not boggle to deſire the ſame things of the Parliament. This by means of *Ireton* (the Brother of the late *Ireton*, the *Commander*) then Lord *Mayor*, and of other Leading Men, they eaſily obtained.

And are by the Parliament diſcharged to keep Conſults.

This made them draw into the Conſpiracy the Lieutenancy *and* Officers *of the Militia of* London.

After theſe Prelimnaries, the Officers of the Army, drawing together their Forces before Day, beſet *Whitehall*, where the Protector lived, ſending in, in the mean time, *Desborough* and *Fleetwood*, earneſtly to beſeech him that he would preſently diſſolve the Parliament, and to acquaint him, *That if it were not ſpeedily done, the Officers would cauſe Fire to be ſet to the Houſe, and all that reſiſted to be ſlain.* *Richard* terrified with theſe threats, having in vain implored the Aſſiſtance of the City, without either Guards or Soldiers to ſtand by him, and his Bed-chamber Men

Preſently they beſet White-hall,

And Richard *being overcome by their Prayers and Threatnings, diſſolves the Parliament.*

Men and other Servants being frightned, at length Signs a Proclamation to be publiſhed for Diſſolving the Parliament.

After this, ſome few days being allowed him to repent for what he had done, and to take new Counſels, there were a great many who prognoſticated all evils to him, nay, affirmed them to be hanging over his Head; ſeeing now the inveterate Enemies of his Family, ſwoln with Pride and Malice, who never kept Faith to any Man, were got into Power again: That perhaps they would ſooth and flatter him at preſent; till under pretence of his Authority they might rob him of the Aſſiſtance and Protection of his Friends, and then having expoſed him to hatred and deriſion, try him for his Life, and that under colour of a Law formerly made, whereby to aſpire to, or introduce *Monarchy*, is declared Treaſon. It was moreover repreſented to him, *That he had ſtill a ſafe refuge under the Mercy of the King, if he would expiate his Fathers Crime by his own Allegiance; that it was the part of a King to keep his Word; that the Lord* Petcombe, *the* Daniſh *Reſident, had promiſed to ſend over Letters ſafe to the* Soundt, *that a Meſſenger might be more ſecurely ſent afterward to the* Admiral *to acquaint him with theſe Affairs; and that he would likewiſe give ſecurity on the Kings part, that the Articles ſhould be fulfilled: That that was no ſuch difficult thing to be done, ſince the Fleet was as yet free from Contagion, the Admiral ready to ſerve the King, and both hating and hated by the Parricides; that beſides,* Portſmouth *and other ſtrong Holds would joyn with him in a ſtrict Confederacy; that moſt part of the People alſo, for the ſake of the King, and to revenge the injuries done to himſelf, and the Parliament, abruptly*

He being ſurrounded with theſe dangers,

Is perſwaded to eſpouſe the Kings Cauſe.

ruptly dissolved, would rise in Arms; and lastly, that all Ireland *was as yet subject to his Government.* Being sollicited by these and such like Arguments, he was in suspence, not knowing what to do; he was tossed betwixt hope and fear, having missed or abused the occasion of doing his business, sometimes preferring the Counsels of some, and by and by again of others, and sometimes ready to run for it: till at length being advised by *Fleetwood* and other *Republicans* (whose Opinions he had privately asked) *That it would be much safer for him to enjoy certain and sure Priviledges, than dangerously make tryal of new Experiments,* with fear and astonishment he keeps in *Whitehall.*

Fleetwood dissuading him.

In the mean time a Council being called, the *Officers* that had stood for *Richard, Ingoldsby, Goff, Whaley, Falconberge,* and *Howard,* are casheered; the old *Republican* Colonels, whom his Father had formerly turned out, *Lambert, Harrison, Rich, Parker, Okey* and others, being again brought into play. Then the Officers of the Army, with some five or six Members of the Musty Old *Rump,* meeting together in the House of the Old Speaker *Lenthall, require him, that he would reassume his Chair, after a long intermission, in Parliament, and again sit at the Helm of the Government.* Which at first he refused, alledging invincible Arguments to the contrary; but afterwards, partly through the threats and desires of *Vane,* and chiefly of *Lambert,* partly through his own Pusillanimity, and partly through his own ambitious desire of Rule, he is prevailed upon, and condescends. The *Officers* having acknowledged the injury they had done to the *Rump,* and having publickly declared their sorrow for it, and the Members obliging

The Officers again raise the Rump *from the Dead,*

obliging themſelves of new, by mutual engagements, the *Speaker* with his Mace before him enters the *Houſe of Commons*, being attended by as many as could be got together out of the Streets, Ale-houſes, Taverns, even the Army and Priſons; which nevertheleſs being computed, hardly made up two and fourty Men: by ſo ſmall a Thread the Affairs of *England* then hung. Yet theſe Varlets made no ſcruple to repreſent three States, make and unmake Laws, Proſcribe, Forfeit, and take to themſelves the abſolute Power over the Lives and Fortunes of all.

(And what ſort of Men they were:)

The Articles or Engagements that they entered in, were to this purpoſe; *That all ſhould enjoy their Liberties and Properties. That there be a fixed and determinate proceeding in Law. That all Crimes relating to the change of Government be aboliſhed. That all Statutes and Ordinances remain in force, until the contrary be Enacted. That Publick Debts be punctually paid. That no Man believing in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and acknowledging the Holy Bible for the Word of God, be debarred from the profeſſion of his Religion, except Epiſcopal-Men and Papiſts. That a Zealous and Powerful Miniſtry be by all means cheriſhed. That Colledges and Schools be reformed. That at preſent* Fleetwood *have the chief Command of the Forces both by Sea and Land. That for the future, the Parliament have the Legiſlative Power, and the Council of State the Executive. That the Protectors Debts be paid: and that he have a Liberal Penſion of Ten thouſand pounds yearly, during Life, and ten thouſand more in Inheritance. And that his Mother alſo, during Life, have eight thouſand pounds yearly out of the Exchequer.*

And bound to theſe Articles,

The

Send them into the Parliament-houſe.

The *Parricides* being bound to theſe Articles, take their Seats again in the *Parliament-Houſe*; but how much they valued them, they make it quickly manifeſt. In the mean time, many of the old *Members*, to the number of above three hundred, who had been ſecluded heretofore by the *Officers* of the Army, though they believed the Parliament to be diſſolved by the Death of *Charles the Firſt*, and the Abrogation of the *Houſe of Lords*, yet, that they might avoid other Inconveniencies, deſiring to be readmitted, are carefully kept out. Some few Days after, they ſend Commiſſioners to *Richard*, to aſk him the Queſtion, *How he liked the change of Government, and what Debts he owed?* that wheadling him with the hopes of kind uſage, they might draw from him a voluntary renunciation of the Authority. He makes anſwer, *That he thought it reaſonable that he ſhould ſubmit to their Authority, from whom he muſt expect protection: that his Steward ſhould give them an account of his Debts.* But nothing but a formal and expreſs reſignation would pleaſe them; to which he ſeemed chearfully to give his aſſent. And now at length he is commanded to deliver up all the Goods and Houſhold Furniture, not ſo much as reſerving to himſelf any Gold or Silver, Jewels or Hangings, Linnen, or any other Goods that might have been pack'd up in a ſmall bulk; all are adjudged to the Exchequer. Thus ſtript of all, he is commanded to depart out of *Whitehall*, liable to the Actions of all his Creditors, and perhaps to have been tried for his Life, had they not had other Fiſh to fry.

Richard *out of fear having reſigned up his Authority,*

Stript of all, departs out of Whitehall.

Behold the perfidiouſneſs of Mortal Men, and a wonderful inſtance of *Divine Providence*, which

which preſides over, and alters Humane Affairs and Governments, as it ſeemeth Good to the *Amighty*! He who juſt now ſwayed the Scepter of three *Kingdoms*, forced by the Calamities of a tedious Civil War to truckle under his Vicegerents, three old *Commanders*, to wit, his *Brother*, *Brother-in-law*, and a third, whom *Cromwell* had obliged by many and great Favours; he, I ſay, in the ſhort ſpace of one year, is craftily turned out of all, and now ſtript of his borrowed Plumes, he becomes the object of the Raillery of Poets and Painters, and being ſufficiently laſht with the gibes and reproaches both of the *Parricides*, and Rabble, as of old the *Dictator* was called from the *Plough*, ſo now the *Protector* is ſent back to the Plough.

And being made a laughing ſtock, betakes himſelf again to a Country Life.

A Chronological Table FOR THE SECOND PART.

1649. MDCXLIX.

May 3. DOriſlaus *by ſome* Scots *killed in* Holland. *The* Marqueſs of Ormond, *Lieutenant of* Ireland, *makes a Truce with the* Iriſh.

June 21. *Having raiſed an Army, he beſieges* Dublin.

Auguſt 2. Jones *routs his Forces, and raiſes the Siege.*

Auguſt. Cromwell, *General of the Rebels in* Ireland, *arrives at* Dublin.

Sept. 11. Cromwell *takes* Drogheda, *cruelly abuſing his Victory.*

1650. MDCL.

June. Cromwell *takes* Kilkenny, *the Seat of the* Iriſh *Council, by a Surrender.*

June. *Leaving* Ireton *his Son-in-Law in* Ireland, *he returns to* England.

June. Aſcham, *Embaſſador from the* Regicides, *is killed at* Madrid.

April 29. *The* Marqueſs of Montroſs, *Commiſſioner of* Scotland, *overcome in Battel, is betrayed and taken.*

May 1.

May 21. *And baſely uſed by the* Scots, *is put to death at* Edinburgh.

June. King CHARLES, *having Articled with the* Scots *ſails into* Scotland.

June 26. Fairfax *laying down his Comiſſion,* Cromwell *is declared General of all the Forces in* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

July 22. Cromwell *leads an Army into* Scotland.

Auguſt 22. Euſebius Andrews *is beheaded at* London.

Cromwell

Cromwell *defeats the* Scots *in a bloody Battel at* Dunbar. Septemb. 3.

Willam Prince of Orange *dies.* Octob. 24.

MDCL. LI. 1651.

CHARLES *the* Second *is Crowned in* Scotland. January 1.

He enters England *with an Army of* Scots. Auguſt 7.

Eaſily poſſeſſes himſelf of Worceſter. Auguſt 20.

James *Earl of* Derby *is by* Lilburn *routed at* Wiggan. Auguſt 25.

The Scots *being beat by* Cromwell *at* Worceſter, *the King eſcapes.* Septemb. 3.

Cromwell *in triumph enters* London. Septem. 12.

The King, *after many dangers, at length arives in* Normandy. October 2.

The Iſle of Jerſey *reduced by* Haines. Oct. Dec.

James *Earl of* Derby, *Lord of* Mann, *is put to death.* Octob. 15.

His Lady Carlotta *generouſly, but in vain defends the Iſle of* Mann. October. November.

Henry Ireton, *Son-in-law to* Cromwell, *dies at* Limerick *in* Ireland. Novem. 26.

MDCLI, LII. 1652.

Aiskew *takes the Iſland of* Barbadoes *by ſurrender.* Januar. 12.

An Act of Oblivion is paſt in the Rump Parliament. Feb. 24.

St. Johns *and* Strickland *are ſent to* Holland. March 11.

The firſt fight at Sea between Blake *and* Trump. May 19.

Aiskew *beats the* Dutch *at Sea near* Plimouth. Auguſt 16.

Blake *beats the* Dutch *again.* Septem. 28.

MDCLII, LIII. 1653.

The Engliſh *and* Dutch *fight in the* Streights. March 4.

Cromwell *diſſolves the* Rump Parliament *after twelve years Tyrannical Uſurpation.* April 20.

Yet he calls a new one, to which he commits the Government. July 4.

The

June. *The* Dutch *ſend four Embaſſadours into* England *to treat of Peace.*

Auguſt 2. Monck *in a great Sea-engagement beats the* Dutch, Trump *being ſlain.*

Novem. 22. *Some* Portugueſe *commit a Riot in the* New Exchange *in the* Strand.

Decem. 12. *The* Mock Parliament *reſigns up the Government to* Cromwell.

Decem. 16. Oliver Cromwell *with the Title of Protector takes upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government.*

1654. MDCLIV.

April 5. Cromwell *makes Peace with the* Dutch.

July 10. Don Pantaleon Sa, *brother to the* Portugal *Embaſſadour, and* John Gerard *are beheaded.*

Septemb. 3. Cromwell *calls a Mock Parliament which meets at* Weſtminſter.

Septem. 12. Cromwell *makes the Members ſwear Fealty to him.*

Octob. 18. King CHARLES *leaving* France, *goes to* Colen.

November. *He ſends for his Brother,* Henry Duke of Gloceſter.

1655. MDCLIV, LV.

Januar. 22. Cromwell *diſſolves his* Mock-Parliament.

The Cavaliers ſtir, but in vain, in ſeveral places of England.

March. 11. Wagſtaff *poſſeſſes himſelf of* Salisbury.

May 16. Penruddock *and* Groves *are beheaded at* Exeter.

June. Henry, Cromwells *younger Son, made Depuy of* Ireland.

May 5. *The* Marqueſs of Leda, *the* Spaniſh *Embaſſadour, comes to* London.

May 7. Pen *and* Venables *Commanders of the Fleet and Army take the Iſland of* Jamaica.

Octob. 25. *Ten* Major Generals *are ſet over the Provinces.*

November. Cromwell *makes Peace with the* French.

The Jews *ſue for liberty to come and live in* England.

MDCLVI.

MDCLVI. 1656.

Cromwell *makes Peace with the* Portugueſe. July 10.
The Swediſh *Embaſſadour is feaſted by* Comwell *at* Hampton-Court. July 25.
Blake *and* Montague *beat eight* Spaniſh *Ships, and take two of them richly laden.* Septem. 10.
A Mock-Parliament *of the three Nations,* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland *is held at* Weſtminſter. Septem. 17.
James Naylor *a falſe Chriſt enters* Briſtol. Octob. 24.

MDCLVI, LVII. 1657.

Sundercome, *who conſpired* Cromwells *death, is condemned.* Februar. 9.
He is found dead in his Bed in the Tower of London. Feb. 13.
Harriſon, Lawſon, *and others are committed to* Priſon. April. 10.
Blake *burns the* Spaniſh *Fleet in the very Harbour of* Santa-cruce. April. 20.
Cromwell *refuſes the Title of* King, *offered him by the Parliament.* May 8.
He is ſolemnly inaugurated Protector. June 26.
And the Parliament is adjourned for ſix Months.
Richard, *Son to* Cromwell, *is made Chancellour of* Oxford. July 29.
Jepſon *is ſent to* Sweden, *and* Medows *into* Denmark. Auguſt.
Mardike-*Fort taken by the* Engliſh *and* French. Octob. 23.
The Vicecount Falconberge *marries* Mary *Daugh-to* Cromwell. Novem. 19.

MDCLVII, LVIII. 1658.

A Parliament is again held, conſiſting of two Houſes. Januar. 20.
Suddenly diſſolved by Cromwell. February 4.
Slingsby *and* Hewet *are beheaded.* June 8.
Dunkirk *is yielded to the* French. June 15.
Cleypole, Cromwell's *Daughter, dies at* Hampton-Court. Auguſt 6.

Oliver

Septemb. 3. Oliver Cromwell, Protector, *dies in* Whitehall.
Septemb. 4. Richard Cromwell *publickly declared* Protector.
Novem. 24. Oliver *is buried in* Westminster.

1659. MDCLVIII, LIX.

Januar. 27. Richard, *calls a Mock-Parliament, which is held at* Westminster.
February 3. Overton *is recalled from his Banishment.*
Febr. 14. *The* Lower-house *vote* Richard *to be Recognised* Protector of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.
March 28. *And Vote also a* present Conference with those of the Other House *about Publick Affairs.*
April 8. *The Officers of the Army present a Remonstrance to* Richard, *and he to the* Parliament.
April 18. *The Parliament make an Ordinance,* That the Officers of the Army meet not to hold Consults.
April 22. *The* Officers *beset* Whitehall, *and* Richard *by Proclamation dissolves the Parliament.*
May 7. Richard *being turned out, the* Rump-Parliament *is again revived.*

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Scot-

Part the Third:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Compoſing the Affairs of *England*

By the Reſtauration of

King *CHARLES* II.

And the Puniſhment of the Regicides,

And the Settlement of the Church and State as they were before the Rebellion.

A Recapitulation of things paſt.

THE Civil War of *England*, begun by a pernicious and fatal *Parliament*, raged for the ſpace of eight years with various ſucceſſes of Battels; till the *Royaliſts* being in all parts worſted, and not able to keep the Field, *Charles the Firſt*, the beſt of Kings, a Prince of moſt exalted but perſecuted Virtue, to avoid the victorious Arms of the *Engliſh Independants*, moved by ill fate or bad counſel, caſt himſelf into the arms of the *Presbyterian Scots*, by whom he was, for a round ſum of money, treacherouſly delivered up into the hands of *Engliſh* Traytors.

Nor was it long before he was a ſad inſtance, that

the Prisons of Kings are but little distant from their Graves.

A Recapitulation of things past.

For (what the flagitiousness of past Ages never attempted, and future Will hardly believe) the unfortunate Prince, to make way for the Usurpation of the Traytor *Cromwel*, was forced by a scenical and mock-form of Law and Justice, to lay down his sacred head to be struck off upon a Block. The boldest Villany that ever any Nation saw; and a *Parricide* that all the World was astonished at.

January 30. 1648.

But this Villany succeeding so prosperously, and *Britain* at length, and *Ireland* being subdued by victorious Rebels, as the Forces of *Charles the Second* were entirely routed by the defeats at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*; *Cromwel* the Traytor delayed no longer the execution of his long-projected Wickedness. He knew full well, that the name of the *Parliament* was grown odious to the people, through the uncalmess of their flagitious and usurped Dominion. Turning therefore his Arms against his haughty Masters, he turned them out of the House, as Objects first of his own contempt, and then of the peoples scorn. The onely grateful action he did to the Kingdom.

September 3. 1650. *and* Sept. 3. 1651.

April 20. 1653.

Cromw. takes upon him the Protectorship.

And now *Cromwel* being Master, and impatient of a slow progress to Usurpation, grasps the Scepter, with the lofty Title of *Protector*. In the mean time he ruled more arbitrarily than a *King*, though he seemed to refuse the Title which he passionately aspired to. Whether he was more remarkable for Craftiness or Valour, the Reader may judge, since Courage he had by turns and intervals, but was never without Hypocrisie and native Treachery.

When for the space of five years he had filled all places with Slaughter, and Bloud, with Banishments, Robberies, and all sorts of Cruelty; being implacable to his Enemies, false to his Friends, despi-

sed

sed abroad, grievous to others, uneasie to himself; amidst the Pulpit-juggles of foolish idle men, the hidden things & lakes of a most guilty Conscience, with a distracted mind and enthusiastical madness, he ended his wicked days; on the very day which being formerly joyful to him, because of the two bloudy Overthrows of *Britain*, becomes now festival to three Nations.

A Recapitulation of things past.

He dies Sep. 3. 1658.

Richard succeeds to his villanous usurpation, a Son in all things unlike to his Father, and unfit for daring Resolutions. His judgment and actions were managed by the direction and suggestions of others, and was so easily imposed upon by their knavery, that by what followed shortly after, it appeared that onely the late *Cromwel* had a mind able to support such a weight.

Richard *succeeds.*

Unfit for the dignity.

For the Colonels of the Democratical Faction heretofore turned out, who were more addicted to the government of the *Parliament*, than to that of a *Protector*, when they perceived the turn of Affairs, and their old hopes revived, revenged by the ruine of the Son, the injuries they had received from the Father. And abusing the easiness of *Richard* to insolence and contempt, they industriously set about the changing again of the *Protectorate* into a *Commonwealth*.

He is despised by the Democratical Colonels.

Whether the *Relations* and *Counsellors* of *Richard* were privy to the Plot, or deluded, I cannot say, but at length they fatally deluded him. And being Complices of the Treachery of the *Democraticks*, they were made a Cloak for the Ambition of others. *Richard* therefore being advised by his Friends to dissolve the *Parliament* which he had lately called, the onely support of his own hopes, and terrour of the Rebel-Colonels; too late he was sensible of the treachery or ignorance of his Friends, and too late condemned his own credulity. *Ri-*

Richard's *Relations combine with them*

A Recapitulation of things past.

chard's affairs being then in their declension, and his Relations *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* seduced either by vanity or knavery; The power of *Lambert* formerly laid aside, became now paramount, and by joynt Councils in appearance, they managed the Affairs of the Government with equal care, though different *designes*; but what *Fleetwood* more openly, *Lambert* more cunningly carried on.

Lambert, &c. returns to the Army.

And now the *Officers* whom old *Cromwel* had heretofore turned out of the Army, being restored, they invaded the Forces, as before they did the government of *Richard*. But that the matter might be brought about in the usual forms, they appoint Prayers, the common prelude of Traytors, to be made in St. *James's*; where many *Independant* Preachers of great note in their long-winded Prayers, call upon God as a Witness of their Treachery. And the very same who lately prayed for the health of *Cromwel* on his Death-bed, now basely and craftily consult about the exclusion of his Son.

The Rump-Parliament is restored by the Colonels.

But whilst they hastned the execution of their late designes, they gave a remarkable and foul instance of their inconstancy, by restoring to Supreme Power, the *Rump-Parliament*, which *Cromwel* by their own hands six years before, had dragg'd out of the *House*: that sink of ill men, I mean, who were infamous by the Spoils of the publick, foully stained with all sort of Knavery, Impudence, and Avarice; and for their Grimes so universally hated of the People, that it was a very easie matter to have raised or depressed again these Phantoms of Government, by the like wantonness of the giddy Mobile.

To be turned out again in time.

Which deposes Richard

And now these *Parliament-Robbers* being again admitted to the Government, they take their known places, and being above all things mindful of *Cromwel's* Treachery, they turn out *Richard*, wavering,

vering, as yet, and tottering in his Throne; and lay the quaking *Protectoral* Youth flat upon the ground. As if by turning the infamy upon the *Cromwels* they might thereby wipe off their own Reproach. *A Recapitulation of things past.*

They demand an account of the Funeral-charges of his dead Father, (wherein that prodigal Villain had outdone the burials of Kings) and of his own Creditors; but with no defigne, in the mean while, to pay his Debts, onely to expose him to contempt, because of his Poverty, or to scorn, for his Luxury. *Then exposes him.*

The Members of Parliament that were more innocent than themselves, or more adverse to bad Councils, by Guards set at the door, they exclude out of the House; and presently declare the Secret and Mystery of the Government, which with no less vanity than impudence, they stiled, *THE GOOD OLD CAUSE.* *And excludes many of the Members.*

From the meeting of this fatal *Rump* again, I shall begin my work. The first thing they now do, is to consult how they may secure themselves, and undo the Publick. That they had been formerly thrust out by the Souldiers, struck deep in their minds; and that they might therefore prevent future Snares from the Colonels, they reserve to themselves the Supreme Authority in the Army, making their Speaker *Lenthal* General in the Chair. And having turned out the Officers of the Army that were for a Protectoral Dignity, they create new ones out of the Sink of *Democraticks*. May 8. *The* Rump *prevents the power of the Colonels.*

But before I proceed any farther, it will be necessary both for my self and the Reader, to give a more accurate account of the state of the *English* Affairs at that time.

The fate of the *Cromwels* was now come: for

Henry Cromwel *Deputy of* Ireland, *submits to the Rump.*

Richard being laid aside at *London*, his Brother *Henry*, whom his Father had made Deputy of *Ireland*, imitating his Brothers weakness, at the command of the *Rump*, delivers up the Army and Government to Colonel *Ludlow*, a stern man, and trusty to the Faction, who succeeded him.

And Monk, *Governour of* Scotland; *and the Fleet under* Lauson.

Monk, Governour of *Scotland*, a man often to be mentioned in our Annals, promised to be ruled by the *Rump-Parliament*; as also did the Fleet, and Vice-Admiral *Lauson*.

Fleetwood also and *Lambert*, slighting the Oath that had been taken to the *Cromwels*, made their *English* Forces and Trainbands of the City, swear to be true to the *Rump*.

Fleetwood's *temper.*

Fleetwood was old *Cromwel*'s Son-in-law, of little or no reputation in the War, but a fluent Preacher and Prayer. He hoped to have been Successour in the Government, after the death of his Father-in-law; but being disappointed by crafty *Oliver*, if he was not, because of that, glad, he was not at all displeased at the overthrow of his Brother-in-law *Richard*.

Lambert's *ambition.*

Lambert followed another conduct; under an affected modesty disguising a proud spirit, and aspiring to nothing less than supreme Government. He had heretofore possessed a great share in the friendship of *Cromwel*, but whether for his own or his Wife's sake, I shall not determine. Nor was he thought to be displeased with the old man, so long as he hoped for a Successour out of his Family, and to be adopted in the Army, where his reputation was great. He secretly despised *Cromwel*'s Relations, as too low and unfit for Principality; thinking that he alone remained worthy to be advanced to Supremacy, which afterwards more *severely*, but not more *justly*, he attempted, rather than obtained.

The awe of *Cromwel*, whilst alive, gave some check,

check, such as it was, to the dissembled madness of the *Democratical* Republicans. But the Family of the *Cromwels* being ruined, the *British* affairs were in that state, that amongst the *Regicides* no faith, love, judgment, nor truth was to be found. The furious unsetled Colonels, without sense or honesty, laying aside all care of Reputation or Justice, softened and fed their private hopes. The Power of the Rulers was mutually suspected, and the Honour of the Nation wholly slighted. And the same Army of *Cromwel* abandoning the Family of their General, perfidiously abolished the *Protectordom*, which by perjuries they had established as a brave and memorable Constitution.

The deplorable state of the Commonwealth

Through the perfidiousness of the Souldiers.

The Rabble also were so inclined, that many desired, and all accustomed to the Yoke of Bondage, suffered the *Rump-Parliament*, though of old notorious for flagitiousness, and now for buoying up the aspiring Colonels. In the mean time all things were carried according to the pleasure of the *Rump*, and the dictates of *Fanatickt*, the terrour of the present, and presages of future evils.

And madness of the People.

1659.

But the turns of the Government were no less odious than the vices of the *Parricides*, to those who any ways concerned themselves for the Publick. In the mean time they were not free from danger, whom Quality, the suspicion of Loyalty to the King, Wealth, or eminent Parts rendred obnoxious to the Jealousies of the Rulers.

The dangers of the Nobility, *and of good men.*

The old Souldiers of the *King*, and such as were devoted to *Charles the Second*, in the mean while, who had hearts to do and suffer any thing, rejoyced in secret; having without the loss of reputation, or degenerating from the ancient care they were sprung from, endured the calamities of Adversity, the long insulting and many Rapines of Robbers, and all the *shams* of Fortune, with an honest and patient Poverty.

1659. Though the settlement of *Cromwel* in the government, and the unshaken fidelity of his Adherents, had so often defeated all their endeavours of restoring the *King*, yet they carefully eyed the dissensions and distractions of the *Fanaticks*, and the turns and revolutions of the Government.

From the confusion of things the Royalists take hopes.

And now the mutual clashings of the Rebels, gave courage to the *Loyal Nobility*, secretly to contrive the restauration of their Liberty; and under pretence of a free and full Parliament, the recovery of the just Rights of King *CHARLES*. For that end they made use of the assistance of some *Presbyterians*, an inflexible sort of men, a bad presage of a certain overthrow, since they are a kind of people that make use of good fortune, rather for the subversion than the establishment of *Kings*.

Their Enterprizes.

Thus a framed Conspiracy all over *England*, produced both glory and danger to the illustrious Undertakers.

Booth's *Insurrection in* Cheshire.

Sir *George Booth*, now Lord *Delamere*, appeared first in the Insurrection in *Cheshire*: He was assisted with the advice and hands, by the Earls of *Derby* and *Kilmurry*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Major-General Egerton*, and many others of less note, who having incited their Country-men to take up Arms, and having formed an Army, they put a Garrison in *Chester*, an ancient City washed by the River *Dee*.

By whom assisted.

Booth himself, in the mean time, with 2000 Horse and Foot, took the Field, expecting the aid of all good men throughout *England* in so illustrious an Undertaking; but with more Loyalty than Fortune.

The Rump *is terrified.*

At the news of so sudden an Eruption, the Rump was terrified; and being doubtful of their New Government, startled at the present Commotions, apprehensive of future, and conscious of the greatness of their own Crimes, they were in fear of all men. And so much the more, that they knew that *Booth* was not the sole Head of the Party, but that there were

were many more beſides him who hatched the ſame deſignes. 1659.

The *Parricides* had no other hopes of ſafety, but in daring boldly; wherefore arming with expedition the fierceſt of the Sectarian Rout, doubling their Guards, and ſending flying parties of the old Forces into all Counties and Towns, they no ſooner ſmelt out, but they prevented the deſignes of the *Royaliſts*. *Prepares to fight.*

In the mean time *Lambert* is ordered with a body of Horſe and Foot to march in all haſte againſt *Booth*. But the guilty *Parricides* could not think themſelves ſecure, unleſs they were re-enforced with Souldiers from *Scotland*, and the Garriſon of *Dunkerk*, and with two Regiments called from *Ireland*, commanded by *Zanchie* and *Axtell*. After that *Booth* had in vain endeavoured to hinder their conjunction, both Armies come in view one of another near *Norwich*; but the River that runs by the Town, hindred the Enemy from approaching. *Lambert is ſent againſt* Booth.

Booth had ſet a ſtrong Guard to defend the Bridge over the River, and had drawn up his men beyond it, but ſtill inferiour both in number and fortune. For *Lambert* having gained the Bridge, charged *Booth*'s Forces ſo warmly, that the raw and unexperienced Country-Rout were not able to endure the ſhock of the old and expert Souldiers. Booth *is defeated,*

Lambert having put all of them to flight, *Cheſter* is ſurrendered unto him. *Booth*, after his overthrow, hunting about for a ſafe retreat, was diſcovered in diſguiſe at *Newport*, and taken; from whence being carried to *London*, he was clapt up in the Tower. His whole Eſtate, which was pretty conſiderable, being ſeized; his head had likewiſe gone, had not a greater deſtiny preſerved him from the imminent cruelty of the *Rump*. For the ſhortneſs of their government ſeems to be the cauſe that the puniſhment of *Booth*'s Party was rather deferred than remitted. *And flies.* *He is taken,* Aug. 20.

The

1659.

The confidence of the Rump upon Booth's *overthrow. And the arrogance of* Lambert *and his Souldiers.*

The short-lived *Rump* in the mean time were not a little proud of the overthrow of their enemies, and emboldened by this auspicious beginning of their New Government.

And the *Cheshire* Insurrection was so convenient for *Lambert*'s interest, that he reckoned it amongst the favours of his prosperous fortune. For having thereby attained (which he so much desired) to the pre-eminence of a General, he intended to triumph, not so much over *Booth*, as over the conquered *Rump*: and indeed the mutual confidence of the *Knaves* was not durable; for the *Rump* was jealous of the *Army*, and the *Army* of the *Rump*. *Lambert* in the mean time, who had a vast power in the *Army*, exceeding all bounds of a private condition, so wheadled the Officers and Souldiers, that upon their return they drew up and signed a Petition at *Derby*, wherein after they had alleadged many ridiculous fallhood, of their dutifulness towards the *Rump*, their affection to the Publick, and Liberty of the People, they saucily desire the *House*, that the Command of the Army should be put into the hands of *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*; as the onely means of uniting the Forces in faithfulness and concord, which would produce a durable obedience.

Jealousies arising betwixt the Parliament-men *&* the Colonels.

Sept. 16.

October 5.

The Colonels of *Fleetwood*'s Army at *London*, despising the Authority of the *Rump*, more haughtily demanded the same thing.

But the cunninger *Members* smelt afar off these Camp-designes of the Officers, well foreseeing what these Councils drove at at long run. And this made them fret, rage, and threaten.

Haselrigg, a hot-headed man, and a great Stickler formerly in the War, now no less concerned in the Faction of the *Democraticks*, lays it out confidently, *That the Authority of the Parliament was a precarious*

Lambert's *ambition is taken notice of by* Haselrigg.

1659.

precarious thing; that Lambert, *following* Cromwel's *steps, endeavoured alterations, and that his modesty, at long run, would prove but a Decoy to ease* Fleetwood: or to this purpose.

The Army *divided.*

In the mean time the *Army* was divided into two Factions. The far greater part were for giving Laws to the *Parliament*, though the rest submitted to their Authority.

The Parl. *mad,*

And this so nettled the *Members*, that they could not endure the insolence of the Souldiers; but come on't what would, they resolved to vindicate their supreme Authority, and not to suffer any Power in the Army above their own. Thus, ventusing upon a revenge, (whilst the Scales were as yet a turning) if the Colonels intended to use force, they resolved to leave the *Traytors* a poor Game to play; and discharge the publick from paying any Taxations, by passing a Vote, *That no money shall be raised without consent of the Parliament; and that he who did it to the contrary, should be guilty of High-Treason against the Commonwealth.* And this, seeing the *Army* wanted money, was the neck-break of the Colonels.

Discharges the Country from Taxations, October 10.

And disbands some stubborn Colonels, Octob. 11.

Nor could any thing content the discontented *Rump*, but the debarring of some of the boldest Colonels disbanded, to wit, *Lambert*, *Desborough*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Ashfield*, *Cobbet*, *Crede*, *Packer*, and *Barrow*.

No General *now, but a Council of War.*

In the mean time the *Rump* appoints a Supreme Council of War over the *Army*, without any name of a General, consisting of *Fleetwood*, *Monk*, *Haselrigg*, *Ludlow*, *Walton*, *Morley*, and *Overton*; the Souldiers in the mean time laughing in their sleeve at the vain and impotent anger of the *Members*.

The Colonels *conspire against the* Rump.

For *Lambert* and the rest of the cashered Colonels, upon mature deliberation, resolved, *That seeing their interest and authority was still in force in the*

Army,

1659. *Army, they would take the Field, perſiſt in their Reſolutions, and if it came to a puſh, try the fidelity of the Souldiers.* And becauſe they found by experience, that *Richard* loſt all by delaying, they reſolved to haſten their Undertaking.

The Rump orders their Friends to guard them.

The *Rump* in the mean time had intelligence of the violent deſigns of the *Colonels*; and ſeeing hands were more neceſſary than heads, *Moſs* and *Morley*'s Regiments are ordered next day to keep guard in *Weſtminſter*.

Lambert *beſets the* Rump.

The ſame morning, *Lambert* with undaunted boldneſs, and a ſtrong body pickt out of the Forces that were beſt affected towards him, haſtens into the old *Palace-yard*, and before the Members were come, ſet Guards upon all the entries into the Houſe. *Lambert* ſtops the Speaker *Lenthall* coming out of his Coach, and attended by a Troop of Guards, and preſently changing the Captain, ſends him back again into the City, more like a Priſoner than a *Speaker* of the Houſe: and ſo with little adoe he terrified and diſperſed the reſt of the *Knaves*.

And deſpiſes them, Octob. 13

And now *Moſs* and *Morley*'s Regiments guarding the ſilent and empty Houſe, are themſelves beſet by *Lambert*. Both Parties looked big, and ſeemed ready to come to blows; but the night approaching, they drew off without bloud: whilſt the *Rump* and *Colonels*, full of anger and hatred, mutually reproached each other, and juſtly too, with Treachery, Villany, and Tyranny.

The Colonels having turned out the Rump, conſult about the Government.

But the *Rump* being now ſent packing, and the *Parliament*-doors ſhut, the *Officers* of the Army became no leſs inconſtant Maſters and Ficklers in ruling than they had been in obeying. Next morning a great confluence of *Colonels* met in *Wallingford*-houſe, to conſult about ſetling the Government: and having firſt modelled the *Army*, as being more conſiderable than the *Commonwealth*, by

unani-

unanimous consent, they appoint *Fleetwood* to be General, *Lambert* Lieutenant-General, and *Desborough*, heretofore a blunt Country-clown, *Major-General* of the Horse. 1659.

The Supreme Power in Civil Affairs was committed to three and twenty, *Vane*, *Fleetwood*, *Ludlow*, and the rest of that odious Crew, too long to be named; whom they were pleased, by a new and unheard-of Title, to call the *Committee of Safety*. *They appoint a Committee of Safety.* Octob. 23.

Thus having erected a new Scheme of Government at *London*, they disperse themselves into all places, endeavouring to secure themselves by associated Villany. *Barrow* they send to *Ireland*, *Cobbet* to *Scotland*; allure the Forces abroad into their Party; but all in vain. *They invite the Forces of* Scotland *and* Ireland *into their Party.*

For the Army in *Ireland*, whilst *Ludlow* was at *London*, declared for the *Rump Parliament*. *Monk* in the mean time writing to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, sharply taxes the Army in *England* with Treachery and Ambition of governing; and professes also, that for the future he'll stand by the Parliament: refuses to admit of *Cobbet* as an Embassadour, but commits him to custody as a Traytor. Monk *refuses.* Octob. 28.

Monk in the mean time, being as yet, uncertain what to do, had many anxious thoughts: He foresaw, indeed, greater security under the *Rump*, but if the Army in *England* had the better on't, inevitable ruine; having long ago had experience of the hatred of *Lambert* and *Fleetwood*, though disguised in their looks: And besides the usual competition in rule, they were also looked upon as men of different humours and manners. *Monk* was for a plain and modest Religion; but *they* turbulent and violent in their pernicious Heresie.

Wherefore seriously weighing with himself the strength of the *English* Army on the one hand, and on the other the weakness of his own Forces, the perfidi-

1659. perfidiouſneſs of many of the Officers, and the fickleneſs of the Souldiers; he thought ſtill that he might do better in War than in Peace, and ſo having reſolved againſt the worſt, he haſtened his march into *England*. When he had conſulted about theſe things with his moſt intimate Friends at *Delkeith*, he goes to *Edinborough*, and there in a full Council of Colonels, he repreſents the new Troubles of *England*: *How that the Parliament was turned out of doors by the Officers in* England, *without any provocation, but through levity and an ambition of governing*: *That the* London-*Colonels having attempted many bad things, reſolved not onely to bear rule over their own, but the Forces abroad alſo*: *That it would be diſgraceful to them to ſubmit to the Commands of another Army*; *That he himſelf was a General neither inferiour to* Fleetwood *nor* Lambert; *nor was the Army of* Scotland, *that had outlived ſo many Battels, leſs to be accounted than that of* England. *That therefore he was firmly reſolved to march into* England, *to revenge the Right and Honour of the Parliament*; *that the Authority might remain in their hands who gave them their Pay and Rewards*.

At Edinburrough Monk *harangues the ſouldiers.* Octob. 18.

When with much authority and greatneſs of mind, which do better than eloquence in a Souldier, he had ſpoken to this purpoſe, the Souldiers were inflamed with Zeal and Reſolution; and under the command of ſo great a General, deſire the ſignal to march.

He ſecures the Garriſons of Scotland.

Having now confirmed the Souldiers and the Garriſon of *Edinburough*-Caſtle, he put the command of *Berwick*, *Leeth*, *Air*, *St. Johnſton*, and other Caſtles and Citadels, into the hands of truſty Officers. He turned out, in the mean time, all ſuſpected Sectarians, eſpecially the *Anabaptiſts*, the Plague of Mankind, whilſt many of his Horſe, addicted to the errour or humours of the *Engliſh* Army, of their

own accord desert him; and leave the Foot and the rest who were truer to their Trust. He remaintained in their places many of his own Officers, who had been lately cashiered by the *London Council of War*: which gained him their affection, and *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* their hatred. 1659.

Changes the Officers, and prepares for War.

The report of this Storm coming from the North, was quickly brought to *London*, and all things made greater, as it is usual at such a distance, than really they were. This distracted the Councils of the Rulers, and put them into no little anxiety: However, they arm against *Monk*, and appoint *Lambert*, elevated by the overthrow of *Booth*'s Party, General of the War, and Head of their Faction, who was now to engage in another kind of a War, and with another gets General.

But seeing they stood much in awe of the prouess and conduct of *Monk*, and had him in great admiration, they thought fit first to essay him by Treaty.

Fleetwood & *the* Colonels *desires a Pacification.* Octob. *last.*

Wherefore *Fleetwood* sent unto him *Clarges*, nearly allied to him, and Colonel *Talbot* who served in the *Scottish* Army, and in great favour with the General, to mediate a Peace and Reconciliation. With the same purpose of Pacification, Colonel *Goff* and Colonel *Whaley* followed after, with *Carril* and *Barker*, the great Oracles of the *Independents*, that the Artifices of Preachers might not be wanting in laying of Snares.

They sent Commissioners into Scotland.

Monk received them all civilly. He had many secret Conferences with *Clarges*: To the rest he publickly professed that he had no Quarrel with the *Colonels commanding in England*, about Religion: That his whole designe was to revenge the Indignity done to the *Parliament*, and to proceed no farther. That if they had rather take up the matter at *London*, without bloud, he was willing to allow time for Conferences. The

Monk *admits of a Pacification.*

1659.

The Ministers with affected flattery preached up the advantages of Peace, presaging from more than one instance, that the divisions of fellow-Souldiers, would be pernicious to themselves, and very advantageous to the *publick Enemy*, intimating the *King*: and indeed their Presage proved afterward to be true.

But the mercenary and canting Tongues of those preaching Mediators, wrought no effect upon an old Souldier, who was so well acquainted with their juggling tricks. He civilly sends back these Agents of Peace with the same security as they came: *Clarges* in the mean time was before gone to *London* with more secret Instructions.

And though *Monk* now perceived that all Agreement with the Colonels of the *English* Army would prove fallacious and unsafe, yet all things not being as yet sufficiently ordered for securing the more remote Garrisons of *Scotland*; he made his advantage of what was cast in his way by chance, and labours for the convenience of his own affairs, to protract the time of Treaty.

Monk *sends Commissioners to* London.

He therefore dispatches to *London*, *Wilks*, *Knight*, and *Cloberry*, as Commissioners for the Treaty from the Army in *Scotland*, with Instructions how to delay time; where for some time we'll leave them in *Wallingford*-house, with more complement than freedom, debating with *Fleetwood*'s Officers, though I am not apt to believe that the desire of Pacification was sincere on both sides.

The Pacificators meet in Wallingford-*house.*

Lambert *enters* York.

Lambert marching against *Monk*, was already got as far as *York*, with twelve Regiments of men; he was weak in Foot, but strong in Horse. Here he found *Morgan*, Major-General of *Monk*'s Army, recovering out of a fit of the Gout; a man that at that time was judged inferiour to none in Military skill.

Lambert,

1659.

Lambert, who was his old friend, and knew him to be dear to *Monk*, ſent him into *Scotland* to promote the buſineſs of Peace. He having followed *Monk* to *Edinburrough* in a military manner declared his buſineſs, and what he was come about; but preferring *Monk*'s cauſe and honeſty, he took command under him, when becauſe of the many Commanders lately turned out, and others that had deſerted, he was made very welcome.

Sends Morgan *to* Monk *as a Mediator of Peace.*

Monk in the mean time having pretty well compoſed the affairs of his Army, invites the Scottiſh Nobility to Council, firſt at *Edinburrough*, and then at *Berwick*; where he diſcovered his deſignes unto them, beſeeching them, for the ſake of their Country and of himſelf, that they would keep *Scotland* in peace, and raiſe moneys to pay the Army that now was upon the march into *England*.

Monk *invites the Nobility of* Scotland *to a Council.* Decemb. 13.

The *Scottiſh* Nobility very readily promiſed him money, nay, and to aſſiſt him with men and Arms in the expedition; which was an acceſſion to *Monk*'s good fortune, that when he might have made uſe of ſo great aſſiſtance from *Scotland*, he did not ſtand in need of it.

The Scots *offer aſſiſtance.*

For being a man of a ſharp wit, he was not willing that *Scotland* ſhould come under the power of another, the Inhabitans being armed; nor, that they accompanying him into *England*, might render his coming ungrateful at home.

Monk *conſiders of it.*

Truſty Officers being left to command the Garriſons of *Scotland*, the Souldiers rightly modelled, and all things in a readineſs for the expedition, of a ſudden news is brought to *Edinburrough* that the Peace was confirmed; but upon ſo hard and uneaſie terms, that *Monk* with anger in his looks ſeverely checked the Authors of the hateful Reconciliation upon their return; telling them, *That if the honeſty of ſome, certainly the prudence of all of them, gry.*

The Commiſſioners ſigne the Pacification. Novemb. 15.

Monk *is an-*

1659.

was to be suspected; and committed *Wilks* to prison for transgressing his Commission.

The truth was, *Monk*'s Commissioners being by *Fleetwood*'s Officers, with a shew of honour, narrowly observed, and in a manner confined, ignorant of the Stirs abroad, and imposed upon by false reports of the diminution of *Monk*'s Forces, with more haste than judgment, had clapt up an unjust Peace.

Clarges *informs* Monk *of the affairs of* London.

In the mean time *Monk* having had certain intelligence from *Clarges*, a faithful man, that *Fleetwood* was *daily more and more despised at* London; *that at* York Lambert's *Army was divided and full of Faction*: judging a delay more convenient for himself than for the Enemy, industriously protracted the Treaty.

Whereupon he prorogues the Pacification:

Having therefore sent Letters to *Fleetwood*, he acquainted him, *That the news of a Pacification was very acceptable to him, but that he found some things doubtful in the Conditions, and other matters not rightly transacted by his Commissioners; that therefore that the agreement might be more solid (all Officers being removed) he desires the number of Commissioners to be increased, and* Newcastle *as a more proper place for their meeting.*

And demands a new place of Treaty.

Fleetwood *&* Lambert *condescend.*

Fleetwood condescended more out of fear than choice: but *Lambert*, whose whole ability consisted in charging an Enemy, rashly and fatally deluded to his own ruine, accepted also of the delays of Treaty.

Lambert *possesses himself of* Newcastle.

Lambert in the mean time moving from *York*, came to *Newcastle*; and *Monk* leaving *Berwick*, marched along the borders of *Scotland*, and pitched at *Caldstream*, an inconsiderable Village upon the River of *Tweed*, but now famous by the Pavilion of so great a General. It was for some time the Capital of the Affairs of *Britain*, and had the splendour of a City: For,

Monk goes to Caldstream, Octob. 8.

----Veios

1659.

------Veios *habitante* Camillo,
Illic Roma *fuit*------

Veii was *Rome*, if there *Camillus* lived.

The season was very sharp, the ground being covered with Snow, and *Lambert*'s Souldiers wanting provisions and money, were forced to live upon what they plundered from the Villages and Country about, the want of Pay being some excuse for that licentiousness. *Monk*'s Forces, in the mean time being provided of all necessaries, kept themselves secure within their Camp.

The number of Monk's *Army.*

Monk's Army, more considerable for valour than number, consisted onely of four Regiments of Horse, commanded by *Johnston*, *Morgan*, *Knight*, and *Cloberry*, brave men, and Commanders consummated in War: and of six Regiments of Foot, under the command of Major-General *Morgan*, another *Morgan*, *Fairfax*, *Rhede*, *Lidcott*, and *Hubletborn*. *Price* and *Gomble* were the Chaplains, *Clark* Secretary, and *Barrow* Physician to the General.

Tumults in the mean while in London.

Whilst matters were in this state in the Camps at a distance, *London* was divided by Factions. On the one hand the *Republican Sectarians* whose hopes were founded on mischief, stood for the *Rump-Parliament*; on the other, the Souldiers in the *City* were for *Fleetwood* and the *Committee of Safety*: but juster Grievances were to be heard amongst the frequent sighs of the good Citizens.

And Grievances.

That the Rump-Parliament made up of most profligate wretches, was in vain turned out, if the Government must remain in the hands of the Commitee of Safety, a new name for old Rogues; and the Cromwels *had fallen in vain, if* Fleetwood *and* Lambert *must be raised to Supreme Authority.* Though the soft tem-

1659. per of the one was leſs feared, than the imperious ambition of the other.

And ſome there were that at a diſtance wiſhed well to *Monk*, and looked upon him as a fitter Reſtorer of their Liberty; who taking boldneſs from deſpair, ſpared not to ſay, *That the Commonwealth was almoſt undone, whilſt ſacrilegious Robbers contend about the Government; that* England *was never in ſo great diſtreſs, nor reduced to ſuch extremity; that having ſuffered the greateſt evils, nothing worſe could befal them.*

And ſo with bitter Invectives they reckon up the Impriſonments, Sequeſtrations, continual Taxes, and the other ſeverities they had been obnoxious to.

That they had long enough born the burden of the accurſed Parliament, and groaned under the Yoke of an enraged Enemy: That the Power of both was abominable, and their Bondage grievous: That wicked Parricides laughed at their Miſeries, whilſt they falſly call Slavery, Peace; Cruelty and Slaughter, Diſcipline: That ſince whether they be overcome or do ſubmit, they muſt periſh; how much more honourably would they periſh in the embraces of their Liberty and Country? That ſlavery is leſs ignominious to thoſe who attempt their freedom, and that they had already ſinned enough through cowardiſe: That they ſhould ſhake off the Yoke of the Jangling Traytors, and put an end to ſo many years bondage: That the raſh attempts of the daring have often been favoured by fortune: That ſecret hopes in Monk, *wealth in the City, the fortune of* London, *and* God *their Protector, were ſtill in being: That it would be glorious to themſelves and Poſterity, to have expiated the civil Troubles wantonly begun by their Anceſtors, and the Royal Blood of* Charles the Martyr, *by reſtoring his Son with no other helps than the Loyalty of his own Subjects.*

Amidſt

Amidſt theſe diſcontented Speeches and City-tumults, a vaſt croud of *Prentices* and Serving-men got together: a bold ſort of men, accuſtomed to an inſolent kind of City-liberty, who tired out by long ſlavery, with a licentious freedom, run about in all places in a tumultuary and confuſed manner, demanding a new and full Parliament, as the onely Remedy to their Evils. 1659. *The tumult of the* London-*Prentices.*

But Colonel *Hewſon*, formerly a Cobler, being by *Fleetwood* ſent into the City with a Party of brisk Souldiers, in a moment ſuppreſſed the defenceleſs anger of the Rabble, and the headleſs Multitude, and uſed many ſeverities againſt the Citizens. *Is ſuppreſſed by* Hewſon. Decemb. 3.

The Grievances of the City increaſing daily, *Wetham* Governour of *Portſmouth* admitted into the place three Members of the late excluded *Rump*, and Colonels in the Army, to wit, *Hazelrigg*, *Walton*, and *Morley*: againſt whom *Fleetwood* having ſent Forces, they deſpairing of the ſtrength of their Friends, and having neither money nor credit, revolted to the Enemy. *The Garriſon of* Portſmouth *riſes for the Rump.*

Nor was this all the misfortune that befel *Fleetwood* and the *Committee of Safety*: for Vice-Admiral *Lawſon* with a Fleet of Ships true to the Cauſe, ſtopt the mouth of the River of *Thames*, threatning to ſuffer none to eſcape by Sea, if they did not again reſtore the *Rump* to the power of Government. *The Navy endeavours the ſame.*

All things everywhere growing worſe and worſe, the *Committee of Safety* was ſtartled; and *Fleetwood* unfit for adverſity, who never could bear proſperity, and growing daily more contemptible and cheap, neither conſtant in his Reſolution, nor reſolute in his Treachery; having ſent a fawning Meſſenger to *Lenthal* the Speaker, he prays and beſeeches, more ſlaviſhly than became a General, that Fleetwood *yields to the Rump.*

1659. the Members being forthwith called together, they would take upon them the Government, and receive them into favour who confessed their errour. And indeed many of the *Committee of Safety*, though they were very desirous of retaining their Power, yet consulted about the restoring of the *Rump*, knowing very well that their Government would not be long, if *Lambert* returned victorious from the North.

The Committee of Safety *wavers.*

Fleetwood's *souldiers make defection to the Rump.*

And now General *Fleetwood*'s Regiments selling their souls and blood for Eight pence a day, under Colonels of the *Democratical* Faction, return under the power of the Rump, forgetting their yesterdays Commander, who carried the empty Title of General. Nor was there any publick Commodity so saleable as the Treachery of the Souldiers.

The Committee of Safety *is dissolved.*

This was the *Exit* of the *two months-whirlegig* of Government; the very names of *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* grew contemptible, and *Safety* forsook the *Committee.*

So soon as *Monk* understood that the Fleet were for the *Rump*, and that the Garrison of *Portsmouth* was of the same mind, having speedily recalled his Commissioners, he broke off the Conference and Overture of Peace with *Lambert*. In the mean time he wrote to him, *That since he understood that the Parliament by their own authority had chosen* Portsmouth *for their Session, he thought it not consonant to his trust and modesty, by private Debates to constitute a private* Commonwealth; *but rather setting aside the Quarrels of the two Armies, to refer the administration of publick Affairs to their prudence and care.*

Monk *breaks off the Conference of Pacification.*

The Rump *restored to the Government.* Decemb. 6.

The Reverend *Rump* now strikes in again, in the last year of their government, and probably the best for the Publick; though reinstated more by the beggary than the good will of the Souldiers. And this was the reason that their chief care was for money,

money, and that the Souldiers might be paid by the ſpoils of the State. *Lambert*'s forces are imperiouſly commanded back to their Garriſons, and forthwith to leave the Field, upon pain of diſobeying the Supreme Power, and forfeiting their Duty. And at the ſame time news was brought to *Monk*'s Camp, that the *Committee of Safety* was broken, and the *Rump* again in power. 1659.

Recals Lambert's *Army.*

What could *Lambert* now between hawk and buzzard do? he was forſaken by Fortune, deluded by *Fleetwood*'s confidence, over-reached by *Monk* under a colour of Peace, and deſpiſed by the *Rump*. Should he return to *London*, it was a long and difficult march; and perhaps as late for the ſuccour of his friends as dangerous to himſelf, having ſuch an Enemy in the rear. Should he engage *Monk* in a Country improper for Horſe, the ground being covered over with Ice and Snow, it would be very uncertain, if not in vain, ſince in the dead of Winter his Horſe could do no feats: What to do he could not tell.

Nor were *Lambert*'s men truer to their Truſt than *Fleetwood*'s had been at *London*: for ſo ſoon as they heard of the defection of the *London*-Regiments, baſely, without conſulting their General, nay, and ſlighting his authority, they ſubmit to the *Rump*.

The treachery of Lambert's *men towards him.*

Few now were to be ſeen at *Lambert*'s door, and fewer within; nothing but ſilence, and ſeldom any Guards: He was no more General nor cauſe of the War; but where he hoped for *Laurel* and Triumph, he was fain to ſearch a hiding place; ſo that without any attendance, he ſpeedily and ſecretly betook himſelf to *London*. So fallacious and uncertain a thing is Power, when it is too great.

A certain kind of Triumviral Power now exerted it ſelf in *Britain* under *Monk*, *Fleetwood*, and

1659. *Lambert*, not much unlike to that Roman Triumvirat of *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, and *Crassus*.

With almost the same gallantry *Monk* behaved himself in *Scotland*, as *Cæsar* heretofore governed in *Gallia*; but out of their Governments *Monk* outdid *Cæsar*: for the *Roman* being come into the City, offered violence to the *Senate*, and unjustly usurped the *Dictatorship*. The other entering *London*, under colour of restoring the *Parliament*, by a rare instance of Loyalty and Modesty, restored the *King*.

Nor were the emulous and competing *Crassus* and *Pompey* more sollicitous in drawing in *Cæsar*, than *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* were in endeavouring to associate *Monk* into the Government: for though they contributed their mutual assistance in overturning the *Rump-Parliament*, yet it is certain, they hardly conspired in any thing, but in the fear that both of them had of *Monk*. *Fleetwood* was jealous of *Lambert*'s ambition; and *Lambert* could not brook *Fleetwood*'s authority: the one could not admit of an Equal, nor the other of a Superiour.

Monk therefore was courted by Letters from both, as having it in his power to give the Government to what Party he pleased. Nor could *Fleetwood* have expected better Conditions from *Lambert*, had he prevailed against *Monk*; which those who favoured *Fleetwood* in his Army perceiving, avoiding all opportunity of fighting with *Monk*, lest *Lambert*, perchance, getting the victory, might turn out his Rival *Fleetwood*. *Lambert* can hardly be compared to *Pompey*, unless it be in boundless ambition, and the unhappy issue thereof; and *Fleetwood* not at all to *Crassus*.

But without doubt it was the interest of the Publick that both were undone, seeing *Monk* getting the better, restored at length *Britain* to it self.

Lam-

1659,60.

Lambert's Forces in all places having either run away or ſubmitted, *Monk* divides his Army, and under his own and *Morgan*'s conduct, marches ſtreight to *London*; a march that will be famous in all future Ages, and memorable to Poſterity.

Monk marches into England, January 1. 1659, 60.

On New-years-day, having ſent before the Foot, he moved from *Caldſtream*, and the day after he himſelf followed with the Horſe, and took his Quarters at *Wellar*: the next day, when he was come to *Morpet*, he received Letters from the *Lord Mayor* and Court of Aldermen of *London*, ſent by the City-*Sword-bearer*, wherein they earneſtly entreat him, *That according to the great Truſt and Power he had, having now found an occaſion, than which, Providence had never offered a greater, he would relieve the diſtreſſed* State, *and call a new and full* Parliament, *as the onely ſupport of their tottering Country; freely offering him the aſſiſtance and concurrence of the City in the affair.*

At Morpet *he receives Letters from the Mayor of* London.

And now on the fourth of *January*, *Monk* having marched his Army over deſert Mountains in deep Winter-Snow, arrived at *Newcaſtle*, and the day following ſets forward to *Durham*; from thence directing his march to *York*; near *Allerton* he was honourably received by the Sheriff of the County.

He comes to Newcaſtle, Jan. 4. Jan. 5.

Being next day come to *York*, he was met by a multitude of Citizens and Perſons of Quality, and by them ſplendidly conducted into the City. Having performed ſo great a march in ſo ſhort a time, he reſted here five days, either that he might let the news of his coming flie before him to *London*, or that having allowed ſome time, he might by his Agents, of whom he had a great many in the City, be early informed of the Councils of the *Rump*, and inclinations of the Citizens.

He enters York.

Here *Monk* met with *Fairfax*, a famous Souldier, and

1659,60. and his old Companion in the Wars; who now following his own humour, had risen in Arms against *Lambert*, and was with no contemptible Forces, but far greater reputation, come over to the right side, being now with more honour an Enemy, than he had heretofore been General of the same Army.

Monk *meets with* Fairfax *at* York.

He sends part of his Army under Morgan *back into* Scotland.

During this stay at *York*, *Monk* received into his service some Regiments of *Lambert*'s Army, having changed the Colonels and Officers; and no Enemy now appearing anywhere, he mustered his Army, and sent back part of it under the command of *Morgan* into *Scotland*.

He himself, with four thousand Foot, and eighteen hundred Horse, marches forwards towards *London*. Such was the Army of *Monk*, the least and yet most renowned body of men that ever marched through *England*, which being hardly a third part in number to the enemy, buoyed up the fate of tottering *Britain*, and the fortune of *Charles* the Second.

Monk *meets* Clarges *at* Nottingham. Jan. 19.

The Army marching from hence, and being come to *Nottingham*, he was met by *Clarges*, who came post from *London*, a man deservedly of great interest and authority with him. He secretly informed him of the designes of the *Rump*, the strength of the City-Forces, the suspicions and jealousies of the *Sectarians*, and that the hopes of the Citizens depended wholly on him.

The Commissioners of the Rump *meet* Monk *at* Leicester. Jan. 22.

Upon his march he was met at *Leicester*, and congratulated by *Scot* and *Robinson*, Commissioners from the *Rump*, upon pretext of doing honour to the General, and civilly waiting upon him in his march; but in reality as Spies to dive into his secrets, and diligently to observe his words and actions.

Nor was *Monk* less circumspect, but being a great

great concealer of his thoughts, and ſparing in words, accommodating all his diſcourſe to occaſion, and ſhewing the Commiſſioners all imaginable reſpect in the Army, he confirmed them in the opinion of his ſincerity. 1659,60.

The people everywhere petition Monk *for a new Parliament.*

In this long and triumphant march, he advanced amidſt the Applauſe and Congratulation of all men, and everywhere was met by the people, who, to the grief of the Commiſſioners, petitioned him for a *full and free Parliament*, as the onely Remedy to their Evils. The ſame the Commiſſioners from the City of *London* deſired, upon their meeting the General at *Harborough*. At *Northampton* he met with the like. And moſt part of the neighbouring and more remote Counties of *England*, ſent him Deputies and Petitions to the ſame effect: all which, *Monk* that kept his own counſel, civilly received, but cautiouſly anſwered.

From St. Albans *he ſends to the* Rump, Jan. 28.

Now was *Monk* arrived at St. *Albans*, within twenty miles of *London*, wholly intent upon his entering the City. Therefore by Colonel *Lidcolt* he prudently wrote to the *Rump* to acquaint them with his approach; *And that ſeeing he had brought with him an Army true to the Parliament, and moſt obſervant of Diſcipline, he intimated to them, that it would be unſafe to mingle his honeſt and faithful Souldiers with the treacherous Forces in* London, *who were ſo lately endeavouring changes, and their fierceneſs not as yet wholly laid aſide: that therefore for the ſafety of the* Parliament, *he earneſtly intreats them, that ſending forthwith* Fleetwood's *Forces out of Town, they would order them Quarters to be appointed by the Quarter-Maſter-General.* This was the reaſon alleadged in publick, but in ſecret there was another.

Deſiring Fleetwood's *Forces to be ſent out of Town.*

The Rump *conſented.*

The *Rump* conſented to *Monk*'s deſire, whether cordially, or rather out of fear, I ſhall not determine. And therefore *Fleetwood*'s men are ordered

to

1659,60. to leave the City, and to go and quarter in the Country at a distance.

Fleetwood's men march angrily out. Feb. 21.

But the Pretorian Bands being long pampered in *London*, angrily, and with a threatning carriage, left the City; rage being mingled with their obedience, and the hatred of the Parties still remaining after the War.

Monk enters London.

Monk in the mean time came from St. *Albans* to *Barnet*, and the day following being the third of *February*, marched into *London* in order. He himself in military pomp lead the Horse through the streets of *London*, and, not without a presage, took his Lodgings in *Whitehall*.

The Parliament had been so often garbl'd and curtail'd, that it was then by the People in derision called the **Rump**: But these Senatorian Conspirators, the shame and scorn of all honest men, being of insolent tempers, and now the third time got into power, blown up with prosperity, began more and more daily to insult over the Publick; and being in fear on both hands, from their friends as well as foes; and knowing that their strength consisted more in Fame than in Force, they resolved to establish their Tyranny by a new *Oath*, and that the desperation of all Pardon might adde strength to this Bond of Iniquity, to compel the People to swear not onely, that they should bear Faith and true Allegiance to the *Commonwealth of England*, and the present *Parliament*; but that they should also renounce and abjure all Allegiance to *Charles* the Second, and the whole *Royal* Family: Which was the last effort of their expiring Fortune.

The Rump by Oath abjures Monarchy.

In the mean time the *Rumpers*, being themselves employed in perpetrating the highest Crimes, let those of *Booth*'s Party, and of the revolting Regiments, pass unpunished, as below their notice.

And

1659.60.

The Council of State *offers* Monk *the Oath.*

He delays.

He goes to the Rump.

Feb. 6.

And now the *Council of State*, consisting of the most villanous *Republicans*, renders the Oath to *Monk*; which he, as taking time rather to consider than refusing it, prudently avoided.

The third day after *Monk* had entred the City, being attended by *Scot* and *Robinson*, he went to the *House*, where the Speaker *Lentball*, a mighty man at words, and nothing else, having commended his fidelity and good services rendred to the Parliament, in restoring them by his Arms to their Authority, gave him the publick Thanks of the House.

And now what Speech he again made to the *Rump*, I shall in his own words relate.

Mr. Speaker,

AMongst the many Mercies of God to these poor Nations, your peaceable Restitution is not the least; it is (as you said) his work alone, and to him belongs the glory of it. And I esteem it as a great effect of his goodness to me, that he was pleased to make me, amongst many worthier in your service, some way instrumental in it. I did nothing but my duty, and deserve not to receive so great an honour and respect as you are pleased to give me at this time and place; which I shall ever acknowledge as a high mark of your favour to me. Sir, I shall not now trouble you with large Narratives; onely give me leave to acquaint you, That as I marched out of Scotland *hither, I observed the People in most Counties in great and earnest expectations of a Settlement; and several Applications were made to me, with numerous Subscriptions to them. The chiefest heads of their Desires were, for a free and full Parliament, and that you would determine your sitting; a Gospel-Ministry; encouragement of Learning and Universities; and for admittance of the Members secluded before the year 1648. without any previous*

Oath

1659.60.

Oath or Engagement. To which I commonly answered, That you are now in a free Parliament; and if there be any force remaining upon you, I would endeavour to remove it; and that you had voted to fill up your House, and then you would be a full Parliament also; and that you had already determined your sitting: and for the Ministry, their maintenance, the Laws, and Universities, you had largely declared concerning them in your last Declaration; and I was confident you would adhere to it. But as for those Gentlemen secluded in the year 1648. I told them, you had given judgment in it, and all people ought to acquiesce in that judgment; but to admit any Members to sit in Parliament without a previous Oath or Engagement to serve the Government in being, it was never done in England. But although I said it not to them, I must say (with pardon) to you, That the less Oaths and Engagements are imposed (with respect had to the security of the common Cause) your settlement will be the sooner attained to. I am the more particular in these matters, to let you see how grateful your present Consultations about these matters will be to the people. I know all the sober Gentry will close with you, if they may be tenderly and gently used; and I am sure you will so use them, as knowing it to be the common concern, to accomplish and not lessen our interest; and to be careful that neither the Cavalier nor the Fanatick Party have yet a share in your Civil or Military Power; of the last, whose impatience to Government you have lately had so severe experience of. I should say something of Ireland and Scotland; indeed Ireland is in an ill settled condition, and made worse by your interruptions, which prevented the passing an Act for the settlement of the Estates of Adventurers and Souldiers there, which I heard you intended to have done in a few days; and I presume it will be now quickly done, being so necessary at this time, when the wants of the Commonwealth call

for

1659, 60.

for ſupplies: and people will unwillingly pay Taxes for thoſe Eſtates, of which they have no legal aſſurance. I need not tell you how much you were abuſed in the nomination of the Officers of your Armies there; their malice that deceived you hath been ſufficiently manifeſted. I do affirm, that thoſe now who have declared for you, will continue faithful; and thereby convince, that as well there as here, it is the ſober intereſt muſt eſtabliſh Dominion. As for Scotland, *the People of that Nation deſerve to be cheriſhed much; and I believe your late Declaration will much glad their ſpirits: for nothing was more dreadful to them, than a fear to be over-run with Fanatick Notions. I humbly recommend them to your affection and eſteem, and deſire the intended Union may be proſecuted, and their Taxes made proportionably to thoſe in* England; *for which I am engaged in promiſe to become a Suiter to you. And truly, Sir, I muſt ask leave to entreat you to make a ſpeedy proviſion for their Civil Government there, of which they have been deſtitute near a year, to the ruine of many Families: and except Commiſſioners for managing of the Government, and Judges to ſit in Courts of Judicature, be ſpeedily appointed, that Country will be very miſerable. I directed Mr.* Gumble *(whom I lately ſent to you, to give you an account of the affairs of the Scottiſh Army, and to make certain Propoſals in their names) to preſent ſome perſons to you, both for Commiſſioners and Judges, which he did; but by reaſon of your great affairs, they were not diſpatched: but I humbly now offer them to your conſideration.*

Monk's *Speech ſuſpected by the Members.*

If what the General ſpake was unpremeditated, certainly it was well his upon: but how the *Rump* were ſatisfied with his Speech, the ſequel will make it appear. Beſides, his declining to take the Oath of Abjuration the day before, the freedom of his ſpeech mightily nettled the *Rump-Abjurors*, who looked

1659/60. looked upon him as a Dictator rather than an Orator, commanding rather than petitioning; and who had seemed as much dissatisfied with the treachery of *Fanaticks*, as the contumacy of the *Cavaliers*.

The *Abjurors* in the mean time, those Piles in the *Rump*, who had the sole power in carrying of things, began to have jealousies of the sincerity of *Monk*'s intentions, and of the extraordinary affection of the people towards him; and having found an opportunity, they delayed no longer to make a tryal of his thoughts and hidden designes.

The Londoners *refuse to pay Taxes.*

The *Government* of this *Rump-Parliament* was grown so contemptible and loathsome to the *Londoners*, that an Order past in *Common Council*, That unless they had a free and full Parliament, they would not pay one farthing of Taxes: which so startled and incensed the guilty and timerous minds of the *Members*, that *Monk* hath forthwith severe orders to march into the City, commit twelve of the more factious Citizens to the Tower of *London*, and by pulling down the City-Posts and Chains, Gates and Portcullices, in a military manner quell the boldness of the People: which if he did, then the disgrace and hatred would equally fall upon all, and that by that means they would prove *Monk*'s friendship, as if he refused, they might conclude him an Enemy.

Monk is sent into the City in Arms. Feb. 9.

To which he offers violence

Though *Monk* abhorred those cruel Orders of these *Rulers*, yet he marched into the City with armed Forces, and contrary to his own inclination, puts in execution the hateful Orders of the *Rump*.

This unexpected Aggression of *Monk* astonished the City, and the People were in consternation at it, appearing first by a profound silence, then secret murmurings, and amazed looks, but there was more sadness than fury in the case, and the Town seemed

1659,60.

ſeemed rather ſurrendred than ſtormed. In the mean time the Souldiers had the chief command, ſlighting the Authority of the *Mayor*, and Dignity of the City.

----*Et nullos Comitatu eſt Purpura faſces.*
----And no Scarlet nor Gold-Chain appeared.

Now did the *Londoners* bewail their own credulity, and the falſe hopes they had conceived of *Monk*; and deſparing of humane aſſiſtance, they directed their eyes to Heaven, preſaging no leſs than a perpetual Bondage to the City.

The action of Monk *is variouſly interpreted.*

This odious obedience performed by *Monk* to the *Rump*, put the Spectators to a plunge, and ſuffered various interpretations. But for what he ſo far hazarded his own Reputation in obeying the *Rumpers* after this manner, or why, by ſo ſudden a change of counſel and conduct, he endeavoured to regain their favour again, I ſhall not venture to determine. The truth is, being either conſcious to himſelf of the injury and affront done to the City, or having too much experienced the Arts and Trexchery of the *Rump*, and being no leſs prevailed upon by the Prayers of his Friends, and the Complaints of all, he was ſenſible that his too great compliance with the *Rumpers* reflected upon his own Honour, and that the Indignity offered to the City, had raiſed him too much Envy.

And is preſently diſpleaſed with himſelf for it.

The ſame night being come back to *Whitehall*, and caſting about what was to be done in this tickliſh ſtate of affairs, he called to Gouncil privately ſome of the Officers who were his greateſt Confidents, and privy to his ſecret deſignes, and having formed a Letter, he therein angrily complaining of ſeveral things to the *Rump*, as, *That his ſervices done to the* Houſe *were ſlighted, whilſt the late Traytors,*

He ſends an angry Letter to the Rump. Feb. 11.

1659,60. *who were not much less Enemies to them than to the* Commonwealth, *had with them now much more credit and esteem than he. From whence else proceed your new kindness to* Lambert *and* Vane? *and your new offences against me? If the perfidy of the* Fanaticks *had still displeased you, why did you with so much respect receive yesterday that Leering Heretick* Barebones? *and the insolent Rabble of* Sectarians, *which lewdly in his company approached you with a dishoneſt Petition?*

This kindness of the House shewn to a Rabble of Heretieks, is not simple (sincere). It is the common desire of the whole Commonwealth, the general request of the People, Citizens, Souldiers, of every one, and all, That the number of the Members being fill'd up within a week, and then your sitting determined, you should give place to a new Parliament.

These Letters he sent the next morning by *Lidcot* and *Clobery*, two Colonels to the *House*.

Monk *returns into the City.* Feb. 22.

In the mean time he himself hastens into the City, that he might make amends for his fault, and wipe off the infamy of the foregoing day. Having sent a Messenger before to acquaint the Lord *Mayor* with his coming, and mustered his Army in *Finsbury*-fields, he is entertained at a splendid Dinner in the Lord *Mayor*'s house. After Dinner the *Mayor* conducted the General to the Common-Council of the City, where in a full Assembly of the Citizens in their formalities, *He declared to them his trouble to see what affronts were offered to them by Orders from the Council of State, which he obeyed; yet disliked that he was necessitated to comply with those Commands; but with a resolution always to run through the greatest dangers to serve them: That he had not forgot their kind Letter at* Morpeth, *wherein he affectionately concurred, but was forced to retire backwards, like a Fencer, to make the better ground, and the more advantage-*

Makes a Speech to the Citizens:

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ous assault. That he had sent to the House that morning, that they should issue Writs for a full Parliament; and to this end he was come to stay with them, and see his desires fulfilled; and that they should put a period to their sitting by the sixth of May. 1659,60. *And promises a new Parliament.*

Monk's Speech was with delight and universal applause heard by the Citizens; and the name of a *New Parliament* so pleased the minds of the People, that the City which appeared desolate and dejected in the morning, seemed transported with joy at night, by the ringing of Bells and Bonefires. *The Citizens rejoyce.*

Now was *Monk* in every bodies mouth; and the Multitude not able to contain their secret joys, proclaimed him the Honour and Deliverer of their Country; praying for and blessing him in all places. Then was the *Rump* loaded with the Reproaches and Imprecations of all, with so much freedom, that it seemed to be the first step to their Liberty, thus to despise their Oppressors. Nor was this night revelling of the over-joyed People less boundless, than the Rage of the *Rumpers* was before, upon the reading of *Monk*'s Letter. They in great indignation complain, that the violence of old, offered by *Cromwel*, and more lately by *Lambert*, was not more grievous, than the present imperious boldness of *Monk*, in prefixing a day to their dissolution. *And honour* Monk; *Reproaching the* Rump. *Which was offended at* Monk's *Letter.*

But the old Commissioners, *Scot* and *Robinson*, being sent into the City to the *General*, they offered him the hypocritical Thanks of the *Rump* for his quelling of the City; and concealing their displeasure at his Letter, they promise a fuller Parliament; and that their dissimulation might be the more specious, they invite *Monk* again to *Westminster* to assist them with his counsel.

The General and his Friends gave them a doubt-

1659,60. ful anſwer, as well knowing that the civility of the proud *Rumpers* was not for nought: However, it was the intereſt of both Parties to continue their diſſimulation.

But the *Commiſſioners* upon their return, having brought advice of the joyful familiarity that was betwixt the *General* and the Citizens, the *Rump* ſmelt out *Monk*'s deſigne, and were diſtracted in their thoughts. Wherefore they forthwith ſet about the leſſening of his power in the Army; appointing a Committee of five for ordering the affairs of the Forces; which if they could have gone through with, the *Engliſh* Army being altogether averſe from *Monk*, they had certainly ruined his fortune.

The Rump weakens Monk's authority.

So ſoon as *Monk* heard that he was made one of five *Generals*, being unaccuſtomed to affronts, and equally ſlighting the baſeneſs and treachery of the *Rumpers*, he took greater care of his affairs: And that he might not make uſe of the counſel of Enemies and Traytors onely, he deſires a Conference with the old ſecluded *Members*; upon whoſe ſenſe and inclinations when he found there was more to be grounded, and perceived them to be fit men for qualifying matters, and not averſe from his own deſignes in time, he ſent them to the *Parliament* attended by a guard of Souldiers.

He takes it in indignation.

And ſends the ſecluded Members to the houſe.

Feb. 21.

The ſecluded Members in the mean time entring the Houſe again, the baſer and viler ſort of the *Abjurors* being now in deſpair, left the Houſe. The reſt being more moderate, continued to joyn with their reſtored fellow-Members in the adminiſtration of the affairs of the Publick.

The Abjurators depart.

The *Parliament* being now increaſed in number, and the Vote of their own excluſion being in the firſt place repealed, they appoint *Monk* General of all the Forces in *Britain* and *Ireland*, and order mo-

The Votes of the fuller Parliament.

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1659,60.

ney ſtreight to be levied for the Pay of the Souldiers. They appoint *Montague* Admiral of the Fleet; give liberty to *Booth*'s Priſoners, and the Captive Citizens; in whoſe place *Lambert* was afterwards clapt up in the *Tower*.

Whilſt the Parliament was buſied in the affairs of the *Commonwealth*, *Monk* in the mean time wholly taken up about the care of the Forces, having called a Council of his Colonels, diſpatched Letters to all the Regiments of the Army and their Officers, that were quartered up and down *Britain* and *Ireland*, to *certifie them of the reaſon of the readmiſſion of the Members, with large aſſurances of their conſtancy to their old Profeſſion and Principles; and that without this Expedient there was no way to ſatisfie the Nation, or raiſe money for the ſubſiſtance of the Army or Navy.*

Monk *acquaints the diſtant Forces, with the reſtauration of the Parliam:* Feb. 21.

The diſtant Regiments in the mean time wanting Money and Neceſſaries, and having tried the experience of both fortunes, choſe rather to comply, and have their certain Pay, than to ſtand it out, and truſt to uncertainties.

They conſent to him.

But *Monk*, to make ſure of the Forces, made them all take a new Oath to be true to the Parliament; which the Colonels and Officers of his own Army, and many of the *Engliſh* Forces willingly did: but thoſe who refuſed or ſcrupuled, he diſarmed and caſheered. And now *Monk* had the ſole power over both Armies, and received all Souldiers as bound by the ſame Oath under the ſame General.

And take an Oath to be true to the Parliament.

Monk before this had removed his Quarters from *Whitehall* to St. *James*'s: There amongſt others, *William Morrice* was a chief Confident of the *General*'s, a man of great ſolidity and prudence, as the times went. By his means *Greenvile* a Knight being introduced to *Monk*, and all company being removed,

Monk *quarters at S* James's. *Here he receives Letters from the* King, *by the hands of* Greenvile. March 18.

1659.60. moved, he privately delivered him Letters from *King* CHARLES.

Having read them, he makes an answer suitable to the times and the doubtful state of affairs, resolving neither to say too much, nor to conceal all his mind; and so tempered his expressions, that he might seem to reserve a fuller answer in his actions. And this was the first step to the restoring the Government to *Charles* the Second.

Greenvile returned to *Brussels* to the *King* with the joyful and expected news of *Monk*'s good inclinations towards his *Majesty*. But by how much the *Parliament* and *Monk* seriously applied themselves to the setling of affairs, by so much the more the bloudy *Parricides* used all their Arts and Treachery, by sowing Sedition in the Camp, and raising Tumults amongst the Sectarians in the City, to stir up new Commotions; nor did Treachery end with the War. For the *Abjurors* having no more opportunity of doing mischief in the Parliament-house, kept Cabals and secret Conferences with the lately-disbanded Officers of the English Army, and being crushed in the head, stung with the tail.

A new Conspiracy of the Traytors.

As to what may be gathered from the present actings of the Parliament, and the secret inclinations of Monk, (say they) *the restauration of the Government of* Charles Steuart *is not far off: That therefore they thought to consider in time that their affairs were in a slippery condition; and that without their ruine and overthrow,* Charles *would not mount the Throne. That the Trophies of so many Wars, the glorying in the assistance and protection of God, and the actions of so many years, would not now avail them.*

That it was madness, after the slaughter of so many Royalists, *the killing of so many* Nobles, *and the unparallel'd Crime of the Murder of* Charles the First, *to expect from a young banished man, and exasperated*

by

by a long Exile, a Pardon, which God Almighty would hardly give for ſo many Villanies. 1660.

That there remained then no remedy for them, but a daring boldneſs, whilſt as yet neither the Authority of the Parliament *in the Houſe, nor that of* Monk *in both the Armies, was firmly enough ſetled. Let us therefore dare,* ſay they, *and re-attempt Murders, Rapines, Diſturbances of State, and all thoſe Villanies that for twenty years paſt have ſo well ſucceeded with us; rather than tamely and cowardly deliver up our Liberty purchaſed by our blouds, into the power of an Enemy, who will the more cruelly be revenged upon us, that he hath been ſo often baffled and defeated by us. Let us either by greater Crimes juſtifie the paſt, or bury our misfortunes with our lives in the ruine of the Commonwealth.*

---Trahere omnia ſecum
Merſa juvat, genteſq; ſuæ miſcere ruinæ.

If we muſt ſink, we'll drown the State,
And involve Nations in our Fate.

Having thus concerted a Conſpiracy, there wanted onely an opportune *Leader*; but then *Lambert* being the perſon of greateſt reputation amongſt the Fanaticks, was thought the fitteſt to undertake that Charge.

Having therefore corrupted his Keepers, he made his eſcape out of the *Tower* by night; then lurking privily in the City, and conſulting with the Ring-leaders of the Party, they concluded amongſt themſelves, O damnable madneſs! by corrupting the *Engliſh* Regiments, and raiſing Sedition in the Army, to renew a Civil War. *Lambert eſcapes out of Priſon.* April 9.

And ſo *Lambert* ſecretly poſts to *Warwick*, the place appointed for their meeting: Thither came *Axtell*, *He gathers together an Army.*

1660. *Axtell*, *Okey*, *Cobbet*, *Crede*, and other bloudy Traytors; where being joyned by Turncoats and the disbanded Souldiers of the *English* Regiments, whom they had allured into their Party, they suddenly make up an Army; and so the unhappy General is once more in command.

The first that gave *Monk* intelligence of *Lambert*'s Insurrection was Colonel *Streater*, who was with a Regiment of Foot quartered in *Northampton*.

Lambert is proclaimed a Traytor.

The *Council of State* hearing of the escape of the *Conspirators*, proclaim *Lambert* and his Adherents Traytors. *Monk* in the mean time, lest leaving the City of *London*, he might bring the *publick* safety in danger, resolved to reserve his main Force for greater occasions, and to send in all haste, some Horse after *Lambert* to crush the designe in its Infancy.

Ingoldsby is sent against Lambert.

Richard Ingoldsbey acquitted himself like a brave man, retrieving by a bold attempt the faults, that being a Colonel under both the *Cromwels*, he had formerly committed. He having Orders from *Monk*, with a body of Horse hastened to joyn *Streater*'s Foot at *Northampton*; and on the two and twentieth of *April*, being *Easter*-day, within two miles of *Daventry* came in sight of the Enemy in an open Country fit for a Horse-fight, and no less for flight.

Both prepare to fight,

Lambert, before his Forces were ripe for Action, being thus unexpectedly beset, for a last proof of his Valour drew up his men in order to fight, leaving the rest that was not in his power, to destiny; and *Ingoldsbey* did the like: both for some hours mutually expecting the charge.

Whilst thus they delayed to engage, it was reported that *Lambert* made some overtures of restoring *Richard Cromwel*, whom he knew *Ingoldsbey* to have been much affected to, that so he might save

Stakes:

Stakes: But he disdaining to see the force of that scenical Prince plaid again, they must come to blows. Providence appeared in the engagement: for hardly had they begun to skirmish, but that many of *Lambert*'s Horse turned to *Ingoldsbey*'s side; the rest either daunted at the desertion of their Companions, or the force of the Enemy, took quarters and yielded. 1660. *And do fight.*

Which when the Commanders perceived, they began to think of running. *Ingoldsbey* charging then home, put *Lambert* hard to it; who far below the great fame that he had acquired in Arms, his Courage sinking with his Cause, and forgetting his former Reputation, tamely yielded himself Prisoner. *Lambert is overcome, And taken.*

With *Lambert*, *Cobbet* and *Crede* were taken; but *Axtell* and *Okey* making their escape, delayed, but avoided not their deserved punishments.

And now again *Lambert*, forsaken of his Friends, and a Prisoner, became sensible of his fortune. Yet this fresh madness of Rebels, had it not been seasonably quelled by *Ingoldsbey* and *Streater*, would have again embrewed the Nation in Bloud and Slaughter, and turned all things into new Disorders.

The very day that *Monk* mustered the *Militia* of *London*, *Ingoldsbey* brought his Prisoners to Town; who were now led in triumph where they had so often triumphed by their Villanies, passing disarmed through armed Souldiers. And thus the Civil Wars had an end. *Is carried a Prisoner to the Tower of* London.

Not long before, *March* the 17th, the *Long and Black Parliament* dissolved themselves; a *Parliament* infamous for such havock made in the State, so many impudent and unwarrantable Undertakings, and for the murder of *Charles* the Martyr; being twice garbl'd, twice turned out, twice restored, and *The dissolution of the Long Parliament.* March 17.

at

1660. at length much more happily ended than begun.

A new one met. April 25. And now, on the five and twentieth of *April*, a new and more auspicuous *Parliament* assembled, being made up, according to the ancient *English* custom, of *Lords* and *Commons*. The Earl of *Manchester* was Speaker of the *House of Lords*, and Sir *Harbotle Grimstone* of the *Commons*. And this conjunction of both Houses seemed a natural Prelude to the Kings Restauration.

The People desire a King. For the *English* accustomed to *Kingly* government, cried, that there remained no other way of remedying the publick Distempers, but a submission to the rightful government of *Charles* the Second. So was it ordered above, that God and man should concur in recalling the *King* to his Throne. And so great was the fame of the Virtues and Accomplishments of this *August young Prince*, that though by reason of a long Exile, he was by face almost unknown to all, and though he had not had a lawful and hereditary Title to the Crown, yet they would have courted him to accept of the Government. Nor was *he* less desirable, when compared and put into the balance with those bloudy *Usurpers*. Nay, the compassionate sense of his adverse Fortune and tedious Exile kindled also in his Subjects an affectionate desire of recalling him to his Right.

And the inconsiderate mistakes of the *imperious Traytors* at length came to this, That the *Commonwealth* no less desired the *King*, than the King the Government; and the languishing condition of the Publick made it *as*, if not more, necessary for the *English* to have a Prince, than for *him* to have a People.

The King comes to Breda. While these things were a doing, *Charles*, wholly intent upon the motions of *England*, leaving *Brussels*, a Town under the Spanish dominion, came to

Breda

Breda which belongs to his Nephew the *Prince of Orange*; from whence he diſpatched Sir *John Greenvile* with Royal Letters to both Houſes of Parliament, and Letters alſo to General *Monk* and the Officers of the Army, to the *Mayor* and Common-Council of *London*, and to *Montague* Admiral of the Fleet. 1660. *From whence he ſends Letters to the Parliament, &c.* April 14.

Which were received with ſo univerſal a Joy and Applauſe, that the Parliament forthwith ordained him to be proclaimed KING in the City, and all over *England*, with the accuſtomed Solemnities, having made a Proclamation to this purpoſe.

The Parliaments Proclamation.

Although it can no way be doubted but that his Majeſties Right and Title to theſe Crowns and Kingdoms, is and was every way compleat by the death of his moſt Royal Father of glorious memory, without the ceremony or ſolemnity of a Proclamation; yet ſince Proclamations in ſuch caſes have been always uſed, to the end that all good Subjects might upon this occaſion teſtifie their duty and reſpect; and ſince the armed violence, and other the Calamities of many years laſt paſt, have hitherto deprived us of any opportunity wherein we might expreſs our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majeſty: We therefore the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, *and other Freemen of this Kingdom now preſent; do according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimouſly acknowledge and proclaim, That immediately upon the deceaſe of our late Soveraign King* CHARLES *the Firſt, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of* England, *and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the ſame, did by inherent Birthright, and lawful undoubted Succeſſion, deſcend and come to his moſt Excellent Majeſty King* CHARLES *the Second, as being lineally, juſtly, and lawfully next*

Heir

1660. *Heir of the Bloud-Royal of this Realm; and that by the goodneſs and providence of Almighty God, he is of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *the moſt potent, mighty, and undoubted King. And thereunto we moſt humbly and faithfully do ſubmit and oblige our ſelves, our Heirs, and Poſterities.*

The *King* being proclaimed throughout the City with the joyful ſhouts and acclamations of all, and all things being prepared for his reception, both Houſes of Parliament appointed an honourable body of Commiſſioners to be ſent to the *King* with their Letters, all men of great Quality and Birth: *Obery* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles* Earl of *Warwick*, *Lionel* Earl of *Middleſex*, and *Hereford* Viſcount of *Leiceſter*, the Lords *Berkley* and *Brooks*, for the Lords.

Commiſſioners from the Lords to the King.

Commiſſioners from the Commons.

The Houſe of Commons choſe *Fairfax*, *Bruce*, *Falkland*, *Caſtletown*, *Herbert*, *Mandiville*, all Lords; *Aſhley-Cooper*, *Townſend*, *Booth*, *Holland*, *Chumley*, and *Hollis*, Knights: Who beſides Letters, carried Inſtructions with them, humbly to beg that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to haſten his long wiſhed-for return into *England*.

The K. Dukes, of York *and* Glouceſter *have Preſents ſent them from the Parliament.*

And becauſe they knew that the Exchequer of their exiled King could not be very full, they order them to carry him a Preſent of fifty thouſand Pieces of Gold; and alſo ten thouſand to the Duke of *York*, and five to the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

Clerges, a perſon in great favour with the King, carried *General Monk*'s and the Armies Submiſſion and Letters.

The Londoners *ſend Commiſſioners and Preſents.*

The City of *London* alſo ſent twenty Commiſſioners choſen out of the Flower of the Citizens: and the wealthy Citizens preſent the *King* and his Illuſtrious Brothers with twelve thouſand pounds.

All things now ſucceeding beyond expectation,

Monk

1660.

Monk was ſecure in his fortune, having ſo dexterouſly managed things, with ſuch innocent and harmleſs Arts defeated the Snares and Arms of the *Parricides*, and procured the publick ſafety without bloud, that the ſame Virtue of the *General* was both hated and admired; whilſt the praying *Sectaries* in vain called upon God, who was not certainly the *Lord* of their Hoſts now.

The Traytors with aſtoniſhment behold the Revolution.

The Eleventh of *May* the Commiſſioners ſet ſail from *England*, and with all dutifulneſs waited upon the *Kings Majeſty* at the *Hague*; where they were gladly and kindly received by him.

The Commiſſioners ſail from England, May 11. *and wait upon the K. at the* Hague May 16.

Clarges had been with him before, whom the *King* having firſt knighted, ſent back into *England* as a Meſſenger of his coming; and having ſent Letters to *Monk* full of expreſſions of good will and gratitude towards the General and Army, he deſigned *Dover* for his place of landing. In the mean time, by the *Kings* command, Admiral *Montague* (ſince Earl of *Sandwich*) came with the Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, and waited for the King before *Scheveling*.

Sir Thomas Clerges *the firſt Meſſenger of the Kings coming.*

And now all things being in a readineſs for his departure, the beſt of *Kings*, with the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, came on board the Admiral. Thither they were attended by the Queen of *Bohemia* their *Aunt*, their Siſter the *Princeſs of Orange*, and the young *Prince their Nephew*; where after they had taken a glad Farewel, with a joyful *Huzza* of the Sea-men they ſet ſail.

The K. went on board, May 23.

Charles the Second now in poſſeſſion of his Fleet, (the firſt Pledge of his Government) which was ſpeedily to waft him over to that of his Kingdoms, with a proſperous Gale directs his courſe to *Dover*. *Monk* having received Letters by *Clarges*, accompanied with a numerous train of *Nobility* and *Gentry*, haſtened thither to welcome him on the ſhore, and to pay Honour to that Virtue at home, which he had reverenced at ſo great diſtance abroad. So

Monk *haſtens to* Dover.

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Which were received with ſo univerſal a Joy and Applauſe, that the Parliament forthwith ordained him to be proclaimed KING in the City, and all over *England*, with the accuſtomed Solemnities, having made a Proclamation to this purpoſe.

The Parliaments Proclamation.

Although it can no way be doubted but that his Majeſties Right and Title to theſe Crowns and Kingdoms is and was every way compleat by the death of his moſt Royal Father of glorious memory, without the ceremony or ſolemnity of a Proclamation; yet ſince Proclamations in ſuch caſes have been always uſed, to the end that all good Subjects might upon this occaſion teſtifie their duty and reſpect; and ſince the armed violence, and other the Calamities of many years laſt paſt, have hitherto deprived us of any opportunity wherein we might expreſs our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majeſty: We therefore the Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, *and other Freemen of this Kingdom now preſent; do according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimouſly acknowledge and proclaim, That immediately upon the deceaſe of our late Soveraign King* CHARLES *the Firſt, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of* England, *and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the ſame, did by inherent Birthright, and lawful undoubted Succeſſion, deſcend and come to his moſt Excellent Majeſty King* CHARLES *the Second, as being lineally, juſtly, and lawfully next Heir*

1660. *Heir of the Blood-Royal of this Realm; and that by the goodneſs and providence of Almighty God, he is of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *the moſt potent, mighty, and undoubted King. And thereunto we moſt humbly and faithfully do ſubmit and oblige our ſelves, our Heirs, and Poſterities.*

The *King* being proclaimed throughout the City with the joyful ſhouts and acclamations of all, and all things being prepared for his reception, both Houſes of Parliament appointed an honourable body of Commiſſioners to be ſent to the *King* with their Letters, all men of great Quality and Birth: *Obery* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles* Earl of *Warwick*, *Lionel* Earl of *Middleſex*, and *Hereford* Viſcount of *Leiceſter*, the Lords *Berkley* and *Brooks*, for the Lords.

Commiſſioners from the Lords to the King.

Commiſſioners from the Commons.

The Houſe of Commons choſe *Fairfax*, *Bruce*, *Falkland*, *Caſtletown*, *Herbert*, *Mandiville*, all Lords; *Aſhley-Cooper*, *Townſend*, *Booth*, *Holland*, *Chumley*, and *Hollis*, Knights: Who beſides Letters, carried Inſtructions with them, humbly to beg that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to haſten his long wiſhed-for return into *England*.

The K. Dukes, of York *and* Glouceſter *have Preſents ſent them from the Parliament.*

And becauſe they knew that the Exchequer of their exiled King could not be very full, they order them to carry him a Preſent of fifty thouſand Pieces of Gold; and alſo ten thouſand to the Duke of *York*, and five to the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

Clerges, a perſon in great favour with the King, carried *General Monk*'s and the Armies Submiſſion and Letters.

The Londoners *ſend Commiſſioners and Preſents.*

The City of *London* alſo ſent twenty Commiſſioners choſen out of the Flower of the Citizens: and the wealthy Citizens preſent the *King* and his Illuſtrious Brothers with twelve thouſand pounds.

All things now ſucceeding beyond expectation,

Monk

1660.

Monk was ſecure in his fortune, having ſo dexterouſly managed things, with ſuch innocent and harmleſs Arts defeated the Snares and Arms of the *Parricides*, and procured the publick ſafety without bloud, that the ſame Virtue of the *General* was both hated and admired; whilſt the praying *Sectaries* in vain called upon God, who was not certainly the *Lord* of their Hoſts now.

The Traytors with aſtoniſhment behold the Revolution.

The Eleventh of *May* the Commiſſioners ſet ſail from *England*, and with all dutifulneſs waited upon the *Kings Majeſty* at the *Hague*; where they were gladly and kindly received by him.

The Commiſſioners ſail from England, May 11. *and wait upon the K. at the* Hague May 16.

Clarges had been with him before, whom the *King* having firſt knighted, ſent back into *England* as a Meſſenger of his coming; and having ſent Letters to *Monk* full of expreſſions of good will and gratitude towards the General and Army, he deſigned *Dover* for his place of landing. In the mean time, by the *Kings* command, Admiral *Montague* (ſince Earl of *Sandwich*) came with the Fleet upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, and waited for the King before *Scheveling*.

Sir Thomas Clerges *the firſt Meſſenger of the Kings coming.*

And now all things being in a readineſs for his departure, the beſt of *Kings*, with the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, came on board the Admiral. Thither they were attended by the Queen of *Bohemia* their *Aunt*, their Siſter the *Princeſs of Orange*, and the young *Prince their Nephew*; where after they had taken a glad Farewel, with a joyful *Huzza* of the Sea-men they ſet ſail.

The K. went on board, May 23.

Charles the Second now in poſſeſſion of his Fleet, (the firſt Pledge of his Government) which was ſpeedily to waft him over to that of his Kingdoms, with a proſperous Gale directs his courſe to *Dover*. *Monk* having received Letters by *Clarges*, accompanied with a numerous train of *Nobility* and *Gentry*, haſtened thither to welcome him on the ſhore, and to pay Honour to that Virtue at home, which he had reverenced at ſo great diſtance abroad. So

Monk *haſtens to* Dover.

1660. So ſoon as the Fleet with full ſail came in ſight, innumerable crouds of over-ſpied Spectators flocked to the ſhore, and Sea-coaſt, and to every other place from whence they might have any proſpect, being deſirous to ſee and congratulate their reſtored *Prince.*

The Troubles of England *Compoſed by his Majeſties happy Reſtauration.*

There the King *lands.* May 25. On the 25th of *May*, amidſt the roaring of all the Canon in the Fleet, ecchoed and anſwered from the *Caſtle* and ſhore, and, which was a more glorious ſound, amidſt the joyful and louder Acclamations of his Subjects, *AUGUSTCHARLES* landed at *Dover*, with ſo much Piety, Gravity, and Graceſulneſs in his Countenance, that he ſeemed to be come to pay his Vows to *God*, the Protector of the Government. His department ſhew'd no Vanity nor Pride, but a mind rather above the reach of them, yet capable of any fortune; and ſo great was his *Majeſty* in all his actions, that he ſeemed more to *deſerve* than to deſire a Crown.

Monk receives the King *upon his knees at his landing.* Here *Monk* falling upon his knees to welcome the *King*, was by his Majeſty embraced, kiſſed, and raiſed from the ground; the reſt of the Nobility having alſo performed their duty, the ſame night the beſt of *Kings* advanced to *Canterbury*, and next morning created *Monk* Knight of the honourable Order of the Garter, the moſt illuſtrious *Princes* the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter* putting the *George* about his neck. Here the King ſpent Sunday, and reſtored the ſervice of the Church in the Metropolitan Church of *England.*

The King haſtens to Canterbury. *There he made* Monk *Knight of the Garter.* May 27.

Setting forward from hence, he lodged all night at *Rocheſter*, and next day upon *Black heath* he viewed the Forces drawn up with much military pomp and ſplendour: Forces heretofore onely

May 28. He came to Rocheſter.

brave

1660.

brave in ſhedding of *Civil* Bloud, whoſe Trophies and Triumphs were then diſgraced with horrid Crimes; but now upon the return of *Charles*, loyally and deſervedly triumphant. The Regiments drawn up in a moſt lovely order, made an Army worthy of *King Charles*.

The K. views the Army upon the Road, and praiſes them.

The *King* having by the famous Colonel *Knight* received the Salutations and Reſpects of the Forces in their Arms, and having praiſed them for their dutifulneſs and affection, proceeded forwards; the people ſtrewing Flowers and Leaves of Trees in the way, and in all places offering him the choiceſt marks of their Honour.

When he was come near the City, the Lord *Mayor* and *Aldermen* of *London* welcomed him upon their knees. The *Mayor* delivered *his Majeſty* the Sword, the Badge of his Dignity, which the King graciouſly gave him back again; and being conducted into a large and richly-adorned Pavillion, was entertained at a ſplendid Collation.

The King *is welcomed by the Lord Mayor and Citizens of* London.

From thence with a magnificent train of Perſons of all quality, over *London*-bridge he entered the City, amidſt ſuch a glorious appearance of brave and great men, that ſcarcely in any Age the triumphal *Bridge* of *Rome* ever bore a greater Pomp, or victorious *Tyber* ſaw, or *Euphrates* of old, or the yet more ancient *Tygris*.

He enters London. May 29.

By Tyber, Euphrates, *and* Tygris, *are meant the* Roman, Perſian, *and* Aſſyrian *Empires, and their Triumphs.*

Along the Streets from *London*-bridge to *Whitehall*, on the one ſide in a continued order the Trained-bands of the City were drawn up, and on the other, the Companies in their Livery-gowns, the houſes on each ſide being hung with Tapiſtry. The tops of the houſes and windows were filled with vaſt multitudes of Spectators, the People from all places flocking to this glorious and joyful Show.

The Pomp of his entry.

And Attendants.

There

1660. There were no leſs than twenty thouſand richly attired on horſeback. The firſt that led the Cavalcade were ſome Troops of young Gentlemen in a various & moſt rich dreſs and ſhining Arms, with Trumpets ſounding before them. The Sheriffs of *London*'s men with their Spears, followed after; next after whom marched ſix hundred of the chief Citizens, in Velvet-coats and Gold-chains. Then followed the Kings Horſe-guards, led by the Lord *Gerard* their Captain.

With the chearful muſick of *Drums*, *Trumpets*, and *Waits*, next advanced the *Sheriffs* and *Aldermen of London* in their Scarlet-gowns, and their Horſes richly deckt with Trapings; their Footmen attending them, ſhining with Gold and Silver.

Then followed the *Kings of Arms* and *Heralds* in their rich Coats; and next to them the Lord *Mayor*, carrying in his right hand the naked Sword; and after him the Illuſtrious Duke of *Buckingham*, and the renowned General *Monk*.

And now appeared *Charles*, the Wiſhes of all good men, and the Joys of the happy, conſpicuous in a triumphant *Majeſty*: On the right hand rode the Duke of *York*, on the left the Duke of *Glouceſter*; he himſelf on a ſtately horſe in the middle, carrying all Triumphs and Diadems in his looks, which ſeemed then more than humane.

After his *Majeſty*, came his chief *Courtiers* and Servants. General *Monk*'s Life-guard commanded by Sir *Philip Howard*; and then five Regiments of Horſe of *Monk*'s Army, led by Colonel *Knight*.

This Triumphal Proceſſion was brought up by a vaſt body of Noblemen and Gentlemen, with red Colours fringed with Gold, in rich Attire, ſhining Arms, their Swords drawn, and Plumes of Feather in their Hats.

In this order the *King* marched ſlowly through the

the City, amidſt the ſhouts, acclamations, and joyful looks of his Subjects, which he triumphantly heard and beheld. And now entring his Royal Palace, he mounted the Throne of his Forefathers on the twenty ninth of *May*, heretofore the day of his *Birth*, and now of his *Reſtauration*; after he had been, ſince *Worceſter*-fight, ten years baniſhed his Country. 1660.

The two Houſes come to congratulate the King.

The Members of both Houſes of Parliament came to wait on his Majeſty in the Banquetting-houſe, there to expreſs their joyful Congratulations for his Return, and unfeigned Loyalty to the Government; which was eloquently done by the Earl of *Manchester* for the Houſe of *Lords*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone* for the *Commons*. The King tired out with the Fatigues of his triumphant Journey, made them this ſhort Anſwer.

I Am ſo diſordered by my Journey, and with the noiſe ſtill ſounding in my ears, (which I confeſs was pleaſing to me, becauſe it expreſſed the Affections of my People) as I am unfit at the preſent to make ſuch a Reply as I deſire; yet thus much I ſhall ſay unto you, That I take no greater ſatisfaction to my ſelf in this my Change, than that I find my heart really ſet to endeavour by all means for the reſtoring of this Nation to their Freedom and Happineſs; and I hope by the advice of my Parliament to aſſert it. Of this alſo you may be confident, That next to the honour of God, from whom principally I ſhall ever own this Reſtauration to my Crown, I ſhall ſtudy the welfare of my People; and ſhall not onely be a true Defender of the Faith, but a juſt Aſſertor of the Laws and Liberties of my Subjects.

1660.

The night-joys of the Citizens.

The night following was consecrated to Joy. The Conduits running Wine, and the whole City lighted by Bonfires. The loyal Citizens, willing to lull asleep the memory of twenty years Calamities, merrily spent the night in the noise of Trumpets, Drums, and Volleys of shot.

A happy revolution of affairs from the Kings Restauration.

The providence of God Almighty never appeared more visible in humane affairs: for now the *Golden Age* returns, a Happiness too good for our times; the blessed day shone forth, wherein King *Charles* being restored to his Country, restored his Country to it self, and united *Liberty* and *Monarchy*, two things thought incompatible under the traiterous Usurpers. The honour of the Laws, which makes all things firm and durable, returned: The splendour of the *Church of England*, and the ancient Rites of Worship, also returned; Piety coming in place of *Sectarian* Superstition.

The King appoints a Privy Council, and Ministers of State.

The King having tasted a little of the delights of his Return, seriously set about the setling of the State, entangl'd with so many Civil Dissentions, and rent by Divisions; and in the first place appointed a Privy-Council, and disposed of the chief places of his *Kingdom* and *Court*.

The Duke of York *made* Admiral.

The King makes the most Illustrious *James Duke of York* Lord *High Admiral*, a Prince renowned at home and abroad, and crowned with many Victories.

The Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor.

Edward Hide Earl of *Clarendon*, was made Lord *Chancellor*; in Eloquence not inferiour to the most famed Orators; nor in Prudence, to the greatest Statesmen.

The Earl of Southampton, Treasurer.

The uncorrupted Earl of *Southampton*, with Honour and Integrity, discharged the Office of Lord High *Treasurer*.

The D. of Ormond, Steward *of the K.'s Houshold.*

The Illustrious charge of *Steward* of the *Kings* Houshold, was conferred upon the Duke of *Ormond*,

mond, a Peer of a ſteddy Judgment, of the Honeſty of elder times, and renowned both in Peace and War. 1660.

The Earl of *Manchester*, whoſe Loyalty had been proved, was created Lord *Chamberlain* of the Houſe. *The E. of* Manchester, Chamberlain.

Nicholas and *Morrice*, two aged Knights, and conſummated in buſineſs, were the Principal Secretaries of State. Nicholas *and* Morrice, *Secretaries of State.*

Monk the *Reſtorer*, formerly by the *Kings* Commiſſion made General of all the *Britiſh* Forces, is now advanced to be *Maſter of the Horſe*, and honoured with the Illuſtrious Title of Duke of *Albemarle*. For his noble Extraction gave him a claim to the Honour of the *Albemarlian* Family; and the bounty of the *King* in rewarding his good Services, an Eſtate to ſupport it. Monk *Maſter of the Horſe, and Duke of* Albemarle.

Nor was the moſt Religious *King* leſs careful of the Church. Thoſe Biſhops who had ſurvived the fury of the Hereticks, he reſtored to their *Sees*; and choſe others conſpicuous for Primitive Piety, Learning, and a good Life, in place of thoſe that were dead; who with the ſame Piety and Humility that they had ſuffered the Reproaches of *Sectarians*, and born the Calamities of a Civil War, now in their old age carried the Miter, and governed the *Church* of God. *Biſhops reſtored in the Church.*

The King made *Juxon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and primate of all *England*, a Prelate of Primitive Piety, venerable both in his books and words; heretofore Confeſſor to *Charles the Martyr*, and his Aſſiſtent to the laſt, whilſt amidſt the fury and reproaches of bloudy Traytors, he took his leave of this world. Will. Juxon *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

----Et nullo gemitu conſenſit ad ictum,
Deſpexitque nefas----

1660.

When without ſighing, he received that Blow,
And bravely ſcorn'd the Villanies below.

And now it was no ſmall comfort to many, that they to whom the *Parricides* had formerly been liberal, were as poor as thoſe whom they had robbed: but it was fit that Clemency ſhould uſher in the new Adminiſtration of the Government; and therefore *Charles* imitating God Almighty in merciſulneſs, paſt in Parliament an Act of *Indemnity and Oblivion* for all his Subjects, except thoſe who had embrewed their hands in his Fathers Bloud; the reſt of the guilty Rebels being wonderfully pardoned: but whether with greater *Policy* or *Mercy*, let Poſterity judge.

An Act of Oblivion is paſt.

The Army receives their Pay, and is disbanded.

The *King* now ſecure in his own Majeſty, and the Loyalty of his Subjects, reſolved to disband the Army, which for ſo many years had been the Burden and Grievance of the Nation; for the paying of which, a Tax by way of *Poll*, was impoſed on every head in *England*. The Souldiers had alſo a *Donative* beſtowed upon them, and many of the Officers were rewarded according to their merit.

The Duke of Glouceſter *dies*, Sept. 13.

Amidſt the Joys wherewith the firſt three months of his *Majeſties* government was bleſſed, *Henry Duke of Glouceſter* fell ſick, and was fatally too ſoon ſnatched out of this world by the *Small Pox*; ſo much the more lamented by the *King* his Brother, and by the *Kingdom*, that at twenty years of age he had given ſuch ſublime proofs of his Princely Accompliſhments: And this alone may ſeem an Eclipſe of the Glory of *Charles*, that almoſt in his own triumph, he beheld the Funeral of his dear Brother.

---*Manibus*

----Manibus date Lilia plenis,
Purpureos ſpargam flores---

Bring plenty of white Lillies to his Herſe,
Whilſt ſad there the purple Roſe diſperſe.

The affairs of *England* being ſetled, *Scotland* and *Ireland* were to be taken care of: The King therefore appointed Privy-Councils of the moſt Loyal Subjects of both Kingdoms, to manage the Government, till he might adviſe about calling a Parliament in *Scotland*, and ſending over a *Lord Lieutenant* into *Ireland*.

The King *takes into conſideration the Government of* England *and* Ireland.

After the dutiful Addreſſes of his Subjects at home, the neighbouring Kings of *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and many *Princes of Germany*, by honourable Embaſſies congratulate the Kings happy Reſtauration; all which were outdone by the pompous and ſplendid train of the *Prince Ligny*, Embaſſadour from the Gatholick King.

Congratulatory Embaſſies from neighbouring Princes to the King.

And now it was time to bring the Murderers of *Charles the Martyr* to their Tryals, many of whom were before clapt up in Priſon; *others* fled away ſecretly, and wandered in foraign and diſtant Countries; and *ſome* truſting to the hopes of a Pardon, obeyed the Kings Proclamation, and freely ſurrendred themſelves.

The Kings *Murderers brought to tryal.*
Octob. 10.

Therefore on the tenth of *October*, *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Clements*, *Jones*, *Scot*, and *Scroop*, who had been of the number of the Judges that condemned the *King*, *Cooke* Attorney-General, the famous *infamous Peters* Chaplain to the Traytors, *Axtell* and *Hacker* Commanders of the Guards, were brought to the Bar, not before an accurſed and new-made *High Court of Juſtice*, but according to the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, before the *chief Juſtices* and

1660. the reſt of the Kings Juſtices, to be tryed by a *Jury of Twelve men*, after the uſual manner of *England*.

What they were accuſed of.

They were chiefly charged by the *Attorney-General* and the *Kings Council*, That they the aforeſaid Traytors, and others guilty of High-Treaſon, conſpiring with an accurſed Army of *Fanaticks* had carried away to Priſon, *King Charles*, ſecurely treating a Peace with the two Houſes of *Parliament*, which was almoſt concluded in the Iſle of *Wight*. So that the Houſe of *Lords* being abrogated, and the ſounder Members of the *Commons*, ſix and forty Villains that remained took to themſelves the name of a *Parliament*, invaded the Government, and decreed to bring the King to a Tryal.

By whoſe authority theſe *Parricides* (an *High Court of Juſtice* being impudently conſtituted) had condemned and cauſed to be put to death the *King of England*, who was above the Laws, contrary to the will, and to the great grief of the People.

They make an idle baſe defence.

To their Indictment, rightly laid and fully proved, having made many falſe and frivolous Anſwers concerning the ſupreme authority of the Parliament, which indeed in this caſe had no authority at all, they were by the Verdict of a Jury of Twelve men found guilty of and condemned for High-Treaſon. The ſame Verdict paſt alſo upon nineteen other of the Kings Judges, but with a different event, as ſhall be mentioned in the proper place.

And are condemned.

On the third of *October* a Gibbet was ſet up at *Charing-croſs* near *Whitehall*, whither in the morning *Harriſon* being brought, the firſt of the ſurviving *Regicides* both in guilt and puniſhment, with the ſame madneſs and obſtinacy as he had behaved himſelf at his tryal, the cruel Traytor affecting an undauntedneſs at his death, was hang'd and quarter'd, as he well deſerved.

Harriſon *hang'd and quarter'd.* Octob. 3.

CAROLE

1660.

CAROLE, tuis jam Victima mittitur umbris,
Nec ſatis hoc fortuna putat, procul abſit, ut iſta
Vindicta ſit ſumma tui---

Great CHARLES, *a Victim to thy Ghoſt does fall,*
And yet thy Fates are not appeas'd; no, all
That juſt Revenge is not yet paid that ſhall.

Harriſon, rather of a baſe than low Birth, was the Son of a *Butcher*; bred at firſt a *Petti-fogging Country-Attorney*: but in the heat of the Civil Wars, when the onely way to get into Power, was Fanaticiſm and Treaſon, he fled to the Rebellious Army; and there turning a furious *Anabaptiſt*, and advanced to be a Colonel, he grew very intimate with *Cromwel*, and his Competitor in Villany. But being a proud and haughty fellow, and a moſt deſperate *Republican*, he fell out, and was highly diſpleaſed with *Oliver* when he was made *Protector*; not that he hated the Tyrant *Cromwel*, but diſdained to be outſtripped, and to ſubmit to one who from a fellow-Souldier was become his Prince.

Carew came next and ſuffered the like death; but his Relations, who had ſerved the *King* in the Wars, obtained, as a mark of favour, the liberty of burying his body; which was the ſame night obſcurely performed.

Carew *is hang'd.* Octob. 15.

The day following, *Cook* and *Peters*, in the ſame place, ſuffered the ſame puniſhment; where *Peters* by a drunken and baſe death, diſgraced his infamous life.

The death of Cook *and* Peters. Octob. 16.

Cook was an obſcure, ragged, beggarly *Lawyer*, and ambitious to get a Name by any kind of Villany. *Peters* a Fanatical *Tub-preacher*, and the Jack-pudding of the *Ordinances*. Sometimes he was *Presbyterian*, and ſometimes *Independant*, as the ſe-

1660. veral Factions prevailed. He was the firſt of the *Jugglers* that from the Pulpit ſounded the Trumpet to Civil War, a fellow full of talk, and had a knack of ſporting the People into Sedition, with an inſipid kind of Buffoonry and Lying, which paſt with them for Eloquence, and became a Crony of *Oliver*'s by a flagitious compliance. *October* the ſeventh, *Clements*, *Scot*, *Jones*, and *Scroop*, ſuffered the ſame death upon the ſame Gibbet, without any regard had to a decent end.

Clements, Scot, Jones, *and* Scroop, *executed.* Octob. 17.

Clements was heretofore a Merchant in *London*; a luſtful mercenary *Traytor*, who abuſed his *Parliamentarian* Authority to Whoredom and Leachery.

Jones brought nothing with him out of *Wales*, his native Country, but Infamy and an ignoble Extraction; he was firſt a Robber, and for his exceſſive wickedneſs preferred to be a Colonel, he married *Cromwel*'s Siſter, who then enriched his Relations with the Spoils of the Commonwealth: nor was he leſs related to *Oliver* by Affinity than Villany; and to many men prejudicial by his ill nature.

Scot ſprung out of a Brew-houſe, and amongſt other Calamities of the Civil War, was admitted into the Parliament-houſe; and of all the Traytors perhaps, was the moſt inveterate Enemy to *Charles the Martyr*, of which Villany he bragg'd to the laſt: and ſo rejoyced in the Kings Murder, that he would have Poſterity remember him as an Author of ſo great a Crime; and beſides the murder of the King, was guilty of many other horrid Villanies.

Of all the *Regicides* that ſurrendred themſelves, *Scroop* onely was hanged: for whether by indiſcretion, or obſtinacy, he drew upon himſelf this ill fortune; or that a mans deſtiny is not to be avoided, I ſhall not determine: for after that he had

ſurren-

1660.

ſurrendred himſelf, he ſeemed ſo much to juſtifie the Murder of the King, that he choſe rather to be looked upon as a Criminal than an humble Supplicant.

Hacker *and* Axtell *hang'd at* Tyburn. Octob. 19.

Then *Hacker* and *Axtell* at *Tyburn* had the reward of their Treaſon. *Hacker* formerly in *London*, and *Axtell* in *Bedford*, had kept ſhops.

The Quarters of the Traytors, (their Bowels being burnt) and their Heads were ſet up upon the Gates and publick places of *London*.

The puniſhment of the fugitive Regicides.

The fugitive *Regicides* being ſummoned by Proclamation to appear, were afterwards by Act of Parliament declared guilty of High-Treaſon, and their Eſtates forfeited.

Nor did the juſt ſeverity of the Parliament ſo puniſh the living, as to quite forget the dead: for the like Sentence of High-Treaſon was pronounced againſt the deceaſed *Ireton*, *Cromwel*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Pride*; who having, whilſt alive, uſurped the Government of the murdered King, they with no leſs impudence, when dead, were pompouſly buried in *Henry the Seventh*'s Chappel, the burying-place of Kings of *England*.

The bones of the deceaſed raiſed and buried under Tyburn. Jan. 30. 1660, 61.

The Parliament therefore ordered their Bones and ſtinking Carcaſſes to be raiſed and buried under *Tyburn*; and in this poſthumous diſgrace being dragg'd through the City, they had a Gibbet-interment.

I think it will not be amiſs to give the Reader an account of the Original of the laſt named Traytors, ſo famed for enormous Villanies; which here I ſhall once for all ſubjoyn.

Ireton's *Character.*

Ireton of a mean Extraction, was *Cromwel*'s Son-in-law, and the Confident and Counſellor of all his ſecret Villanies; who, though to all others he was moſt hidden and reſerved, yet to this man he opened his heart; as he on the other hand was reported

1660. reported not onely to have kept his Counsels, but also to have advised him to act many of his worst Villanies. He was esteemed the best Orator of all the Colonels, and had a canting kind of preaching Rhetorick, more copious than eloquent.

Of Pride. *Pride* descended of unknown Parents, and was *Dray-man* to a Brewer; but within a short time, the affairs of *England* being in confusion, the rough-hewn Clown was dignified and made proud by the Title and Authority of a Colonel: nor is it certain whether he was the greater Knave or Fool.

And Bradshaw *Bradshaw* was of the fatal *High Court of Justice*, the more fatal President, a Lawyer of no account at the Bar, till being bribed by money, he got himself a name by a most execrable Villany. The Scarlet-robed Brauler, and hardly more innocent than *Pilate*, surpassed the wickedness of all the rest of the Kings Murderers, by his boldness in condemning an innocent Prince, and adding malicious scoffs to the impudence of the Fact, without any Reverence to Captive *Majesty*.

The Original of Cromwel. *Cromwel* indeed came of a better Race, but which he himself for ever disgraced. The ancient dignity of his Family by the name of *Williams*, changed afterward by his Ancestors, in the time of *Henry the Eighth*, to that of *Cromwel*, had its original from a Blacksmith.

And his Manners. His Youth was loose, infamous and debauched; but having run out his Estate, and from a prodigal Rogue turning Puritan, and then Fanatick, like another *Cataline*, incited by Beggary, he ventured upon the overthrow of the State.

Catalin luxuria primum, hinc conflata egestas, in nefaria consilia opprimendæ Patriæ compulêre. *Flor. l.* 4.

Bearing a mind above a private condition, he still appeared as a private person, and had the art to set himself off undiscerned: He had a wonderful dexterity amongst the Fanatick Rout, (in whose

whoſe opprobrious friendſhip he chiefly delighted) of winning upon the minds of the *Rebels*, ſhaking his bald pate, and ſmiling with a deceitful Countenance; he was by Nature and Art excellently diſpoſed for alluring the affections of the Diſſenters; nor do I know whether amongſt mortal men there was even a cunniner Artiſt in pretended Piety, a wickeder or more crafty man, and bolder in attempting any Villany. 1660.

But by what deceitful grinning Arts having overturned the *Parliament*, and murdered the *King*, he raiſed himſelf to Supreme Power; many great Wits and able Pens have already deſcribed: Much he did in War, but more by Perfidiouſneſs, Hypocriſie, Perjury, and Falſhood.

More cruel he was than the ancient Tyrants, whoſe Manners and Examples he imitated: with *Tiberius* he was ſubtile and ſuſpicacious, *He had a crafty diſpoſition with a jealous head, and delighted in none of his Virtues ſo much as in Diſſimulation*; more eaſily concealing Hatred than Fear. *Nero* he acted in the ſlaughter of his beſt Country-men, nor was he unlike him in driving a Coach. His Countenance carried the bloudy *complexion of* Domitian, *and a redneſs that fortified him againſt Bluſhing*. Tacit. *Annal.* l. 1. p. 4. *In vitâ* Agricolæ.

But that he might not onely appear famous through Crimes and Villanies, by intervals he made a ſhew of ſome great actions; not from a principle of Goodneſs, but Ambition; nor out of love to Virtue, but Vanity, and future Glory. This alone was wanting to his fortune and our ſlavery, that he had neither a Son nor Succeſſour able to match him.

Pity it was that that bold Orator, or rather Bagpiper, was out of the way at the ſhameful Obſequies of the Traytors, that the ſame hand which (reproaching all Kings in Latin) vindicated the Party, Milton.

1660. Party, and juſtified in writing the Crimes of the *Parricides*, now might, though a ſurley lookt *Schoolmaſter*, have either made a Funeral-Oration for the deceaſed, or ſung their Praiſes in *hanging* Elegies; his Poetry ſurpaſſing his Oratory, eſpecially when he treated of ſuch monſtrous ſubjects.

Strangers may perhaps wonder, and no leſs our Poſterity at home, that ſuch baſe and contemptible fellows, many of them Brewers, others who drank as they had brewed, and ſpent their Eſtates; and ſome again whoſe ignominious Poverty was a ſcandal to the Nation, ſhould overturn the flouriſhing ſtate of *England*, and get to the top of Authority and Government.

Would we know the cauſe of it? Theſe were the Spoils, and theſe the Trophies of Hereſie; which taking its riſe from the *Sermonizing Presbyterian* Miniſters, increaſed by the *Independants*, hurried on by the Kennel of all the Sectarians, and by a kind of flying Contagion ſpread over all the *Forces*, could not be ſtopt till they had ſhed the *Royal Blood*, ſubverted the *Parliament*, and made one ruinous heap of all good Subjects.

Mary Princeſs of Orange *came into* England Sept. 23. *She died at* London. Dec. 24.

Some time before, (*September* the twenty third) the Princeſs of *Orange* was come into her Native Country, more fatal to her than a foreign Land, to congratulate his *Majeſties* return; but falling ſick of the Small Pox at *London*, on *Chriſtmas*-Eve ſhe died, being ſnatched away amidſt the Triumphs and freſh Lawrels of her Brother *Charles*, ſhe onely ſhared in the adverſe fortune of her Family, and renewed the Mourning wherein the *Court* ſtill was for the untimely death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

1661. *The Solemnities of the K.'s Coronation.*

I ſhall begin the year with the Solemnities of the Coronation of *King Charles*. On the two and twentieth of *May*, the King from the *Tower* of *London*, as the cuſtom is at the Coronation of our Kings,

paſſed

paſſed through the City; where in honour of ſo great a Solemnity, the Citizens of *London*, in the more eminent places of the ſtreets, erected four *Triumphal Arches* of a vaſt height and bigneſs; elaborate Pieces of Art, and exquiſite Engines of Pomp, bearing Inſcriptions and Devices, and adorned with Painting and gilding. 1661.

The firſt Arch bore in its Frontiſpice the Triumph of *Charles* upon his return, *Triumphal Arches. The Firſt.*

To *CHARLES* the II.
By the grace of G. K. of *G. Brit.*
To the Beſt and Greateſt,
And ever moſt Venerable,
Ever moſt Auguſt;
The moſt Happy & moſt Pious,
Who was born for our Good,
Who of his Native *Britain*,
And of Mankind in general,
Has deſerved moſt:
To the Father of our Country,
The Extinguiſher of Tyranny,
The Reſtorer of our Liberty,
The Founder of our Quiet,
In memory of his happy
And long-deſired Reſtitution,
We Willingly and Joyfully
Have placed this.
S. P. Q. L.

CAROLO II.
D. G. Britanniarum Imp.
Optim. Maxim.
Ubique Venerando,
Semper Aug.
Beatiſſimo, & Piiſſimo.
Bono Reip. Nato,
De Avitâ Britan.
De omnium Hominum genere
Meritiſſimo
P. P.
Extinctori Tyrannidis,
Reſtitutori Libertatis,
Fundatori Quietis,
Ob Fælicem Reditum,
Ex voto L. M.
P.
S. P. Q. L.

The

1661. *The Second.* The second being a *Naval*, bore this Inscription:

To the British *Neptune*,
CHARLES the II.
By whose Authority
The Sea
Is free or restrain'd.

NEPTUNO Britannico,
CAROLO II.
Cujus Arbitrio
Mare
Vel Liberum, vel Clausum.

The Third. The third placed in the middle of the City, represented the *Temple of Concord*, with this Inscription.

The Temple of
CONCORD,
Erected in honour of the best
of Princes,
By whose return
The British Sea and Land
being appeas'd, and
By its ancient Laws reform'd;
He has restored,
Enlarged and adorned it.
S. P. Q. L.

Ædem
CONCORDIÆ,
In Honorem Optimi Principis,
Cujus Adventu
Britannia Terrâ Marique Pacata,
Et
Priscis Legibus Reformata est,
Ampliorem Splendidioremq;
Restituit.
S. P. Q. L.

The Fourth. The last exhibited the *Garden of Plenty* and *Cornucopia's*, with the Statues of *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, *Flora*, and *Pomana*, with this Inscription:

To Plenty, and to *Augustus.*
The fire of Civil War
Being Extinguished,
And the Temple of War shut,
This Lofty Altar
Was built by the
S. A. P. O. L.

UBERTATI
Aug.
Extincto Belli Civilis Incendio,
Clausoque Jani Templo,
Aram Celsiss.
Construxit
S. P. Q. L.

Under

1661.

Under all theſe, the King rode on horſe-back ſtreight to his Palace in a triumphant manner with Trumpets, Muſick, and the joyful Acclamations of the People, being attended by the *Nobility*, his Majeſties *Miniſters and Servants*, the *Heralds*, *Kings at Arms*, the *Kings Judges*, and *Knights of the Bath*.

The King *crowned at* Weſtminſter. April 23.

The ſolemnity of this day, though it was not ſo great in the number of Attendents, yet in richneſs and ſplendour of Cloaths and Arms, it ſurpaſſed the triumphant Entry of the *King* upon his return.

Next morning the *King* was in great pomp conducted to *Weſtminſter*-Abbey, where in his Imperial Robes, the *Prelates* in their *Myters*, and the *Nobles* in their Parliament-Robes, conducted him to his Throne, and the *Archbiſhop of Canterbury* anointed him with the ſacred Oyl. Afterwards all the ancient and uſual Ceremonies upon ſuch occaſions were performed.

¶ *The Author of this Hiſtory deſigning the utmoſt brevity, hath not mentioned any of theſe Ceremonies; but* Mr. Philips *in his Continuation of* Dr. Richard Baker's *Chronicle, has very exactly ſet forth all the* Rituals *then uſed, but hath omitted the* Coronation-Oath, *and onely given an* Epitom *of it; and there having of late years been ſtrange Pretences raiſed upon the account of this Oath, it is thought fit to inſert the ſame here, from* Mr. Sanderſon's *Hiſtory of* Charles *the Firſt, with that variety of Circumſtances which were uſed in the Coronation here mentioned, expreſſed by* Mr. Philips.

CORO-

Coronation-Oath.

SIR, (ſaid the Biſhop of *London*) *will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the People of* England, *the Laws and Cuſtoms to them granted by the Kings of* England, *your Lawful and Religious Predeceſſors; and namely, the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Franchiſes, granted to the Clergie by the Glorious King St.* Edward *your Predeceſſor, according to the Laws of God, the true Profeſſion of the Goſpel eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the ancient Cuſtoms of the Realm?*

The King's Anſwer, I grant and promiſe to keep them.

Biſhop. Sir, *Will you keep Peace and goodly Agreement (according to your power) both to God, the holy Church, the Clergie, and the People?*

King. I will keep it.

Biſhop. Sir, *Will you (to your power) cauſe Law, Juſtice, and Diſcretion, with Mercy and Truth, to be executed, to your Judgment?*

King. I will.

Biſhop. Sir, *Will you grant to hold and keep the Laws and rightful Cuſtoms which the Commonalty of this Kingdom have; and will you defend and uphold them to the honour of God, ſo much as in you lieth?*

King. I grant and promiſe ſo to do.

Then

1661.

Then the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* read this Admonition to the King, before the People with a loud voice.

Our Lord and King, we beſeech you to pardon, and to grant and to preſerve unto us, and to the Churches committed to your charge, all Canonical Priviledges, and do Law and Juſtice, and that you would protect and defend us, as every good King to his Kingdoms ought to be Protector and Defender of the Biſhops, and the Churches under their government?

The King anſwered,

With a willing and devout heart, I promiſe and grant my Pardon, and that I will preſerve and maintain to you, and the Churches committed to your charge, all Canonical Priviledges and due Law and Juſtice, and that I will be your Protector and Defender to my power by the aſſiſtance of God, as every good King in his Kingdom in right ought to protect and defend the Biſhops and Churches under their government.

Then the King aroſe, and was led by the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Bath* and *Wells*, to the Communion-Table, where he made a ſolemn Oath in ſight of all the People, to obſerve the Premiſes; and laying his hand upon the Bible, ſaid,

The OATH.

The things which I have here promiſed, I ſhall perform and keep: So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

1661.

A new Parl. May 8.

On the eighth of *May* a new Parliament met, which continued many years. Since, the year before the *Regicides* had been brought to condign puniſhment, the three *Eſtates of Parliament*, now condemned to the flames, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, the Bond of the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Conſpiracy, and Sacrament of the *Presbyterian* Villany. The ſame was done by the Parliament of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and that which had raiſed a Civil Combuſtion, and propagated the ſame all over *Britain* and *Ireland*, is now burnt by the hand of the Hangman, and by its own aſhes expiated at length the wickedneſs of three Nations.

The traiterous Solemn League and Covenant *is condemned & burnt.*

The puniſhment of Mouſon, Mildmay, *and* Wallop. Jan. 27. 1661, 62.

This year was concluded, or the new begun, by the further puniſhment of *Regicides*: For by Order of Parliament, *Mouſon*, an upſtart Lord, Sir *Henry Mildmay*, heretofore Keeper of the Jewels to the late King, and therefore the more criminal, and *Robert Wallop*, on the ſeven and twentieth of *January*, the day whereon the *bleſſed King* had been condemned; were in Hurdles, with Halters about their necks, dragged to *Tyburn* and back again to Town, being ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment.

It was ſufficiently made out that they had been Members of that execrable *High Court of Juſtice*; but becauſe they had not ſigned the Warrant for the *Kings* execution, they were onely puniſhed by Bonds and Impriſonment.

Hazelrigg in the mean time, one of the bittereſt of all the Traytors, being ſentenced to the ſame puniſhment, pined away with anger and grief, and unable to bare his diſgrace, prevented the diſhonour and his captivity by a timely death in the Tower of *London*.

The Traytors that came in:

The ſame puniſhment was inflicted upon the Traytors who (as we ſaid before) came in upon the Kings

Kings Proclamation: For being brought to the Bar, becauſe waving all defence, they humbly acknowledged their Crime, and that they were a Crew, moſt part of them, of ſilly ſeduced Raſcals, drawn in either by the arts or threatnings of *Cromwel*: they redeemed their necks from the Gallows, which they had ſo often deſerved, by a perpetual impriſonment; to which being cloſely confined, they lived to ſee their Villany puniſhed by Infamy. 1662. Hard. Waller, Pevenингham, Marten, Jam. Temple, Wayte, Tichburn, Lilburn, Downs, Penningt. Smith, Garland, Geo. Fleetwood, Roe, Millinge. Meyn, Peter Temple, Harvey & Potter.

But fortune was more favourable to the Traytors that came in at home, than to thoſe who fled abroad: for about that time Sir *George Downing* being Embaſſadour in *Holland*, had intelligence that three of the Fugitive *Regicides*, *Barkſtead*, *Okey*, and *Corbet*, being come back out of *Germany*, lurked in *Delf*. He therefore having obtained a Warrant from the *States General*, ſeized them, and ſent them over to *England*; where being brought to a tryal, they were condemned for High-Treaſon, and *April* the nineteenth executed at *Tyburn*. Barkſtead, Okey, *and* Corbet *taken*. *Were hanged at* Tyburn. April 19.

They went all to death with a fanatical oſtentation of Piety. But *Barkſtead* and *Corbet* approaching to their end, after many ugly delays, and cups of Strong-waters, unwillingly put their trembling necks into the Halter, which quickly put an end to the Wretches, half dead already for fear. But *Okey* being a man of an undaunted mind, and making uſe of his courage to the laſt, went off with the bravoury of a Souldier, and not undecently, had he ſo died for his Country.

Corbet was heretofore an inſpired prating *Lawyer*, more skilful in the Principles of Fanaticks, than in the Laws; he got to be a Member of that long and black Parliament, and no man was more profeſſedly an implacable Enemy to the *King*. Corbet's Character.

The low extraction of *Okey* is buried in obſcurity. Being a Tallow-chandler in *London*, and Okey's.

1662. weary of his poor condition, he followed the profitable Wars of the Parliament; where his daringneſs advanced him to the place of a Colonel, and at length to be one of the chief Judges in trying and ſentencing the *King*.

And Barkſtead's. *Barkſtead* was heretofore a whifling Goldſmith in *London*, and had raiſed himſelf upon the Ruines of his Country: But thoſe who knew the cunning of *Oliver* in chuſing his Magiſtrates, wondered that he preferred ſo ſilly and idle a fellow, even to be a Colonel, and Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, beſides other Offices.

But that kind of ſtupid fierceneſs was more uſeful to *Cromwel* than the cunninger knavery of others: for the Tyrant himſelf for the moſt part looked another way, and commanded the Villanies which he would not behold; ſo that this fellow, no doubt, was privy to the furious Councils of *Cromwel*, and a truſty Miniſter of his *Protectoral* Cruelty: And ſo long as he was chief Jaylor to *Oliver*, the barbarous Villain was never ſtartled at the ſight of the Murders and Impriſonments of ſo many Nobles and worthy Subjects. His head was ſet upon a Gate of the *Tower*, whereof heretofore he had been Governour, that upon the ſame Stage where he acted his greateſt Crimes, he might ſuffer his greateſt Puniſhment.

The vanity of the Regicides *even to the laſt.* The *firſt* Prodigy of the *Regicides* was their matchleſs impudence in putting to death the *King*; and their *next*, their obſtinacy to the laſt. For when they had murdered the beſt of *Kings*, to the ſhame of Chriſtianity, the infamy of the Reformation, and the univerſal reproach and malediction of Fanatick Zeal; theſe godly *Regicides* were aſhamed, when Treaſon ſtuck in their breaſts, to confeſs their hypocritical pretending Religion, even at the laſt gaſp. Nay, their Godlineſs made them

ſo

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ſo impudent, as rather to know themſelves guilty and deny it, to ſave their reputation amongſt their Brethren, than humbly and modeſtly to acknowledge their Crimes.

The Authority of *Parliament* was the onely thing that all of them alleadged to juſtifie their Parricide, as if a Gang of fifty Robbers (who had ſo often violated that Authority) had been worthy of that name, when there was neither the colour nor reſemblance of a Houſe of Commons left. *And the cauſe of it.*

Nec color Imperii, nec frons fuit illa Senatûs.

But ſince they could live no longer to do miſchief, their whole care was at their death to harden the minds of their Party by a fanatical aſſertation of dying good men: when it was rather the higheſt Judgment of an offended God, to let them fill up the Cup of their bold Indignities by a deſperate end.

It was time now for the *King*, who was a Batchelour, to think of Marriage, that he might leave a Poſterity for the future ſecurity of his Kingdom; and therefore communicating his intentions to the *Parliament*, he addreſſed himſelf to the moſt Illuſtrious *Catharine* Daughter of *Portugal*, deſcended from the ancient Race of the Family of *Braganza*; with the univerſal Applauſe and Congratulation of the *Eſtates*. And a Fleet was ſent to *Portugal* to bring over the *Royal* Bride; who having had a favourable paſſage to the *Engliſh* Coaſt, was by his Royal Highneſs the *Duke of York* met and ſaluted with Naval Solemnities at the Iſle of *Wight*. *The K. Thinks of Marriage.*

The King received his Bride at *Portſmouth*, and was with great Solemnity, in preſence of many Nobles, there married, the Office of Matrimony having been performed by *Gilbert Sheldon* Biſhop of *London*.

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He marries Catharine *at* Portſmouth. May 22.

The *King* from thence conducted his Royal Conſort to *Whitehall*, where, after the reiterated feſtivity of the Royal Nuptials, the dutiful Complements of the *Great men*, and the Preſents of the Lord *Mayor* and chief Citizens of *London*, ſlighting the wanton Pleaſures of a Court, by the innocence of her Manners, and an exemplary Piety of Life, ſhe conſecrated the trancient Delights of a Palace to the ſeverer Sanctity of a Monaſtery. A Queen that wanted nothing to render her ſelf and us happy, had ſhe been as fruitful as good.

Sir Hen. Vane brought to tryal. June 2.

On the ſecond of *June*, the laſt of the Traytors Sir *Henry Vane*, after a two years impriſonment, is brought at length to the Bar: where, after he had defended himſelf by ſhifts, and ſtrained querks of Law, rather than by any colourable Plea, he is found guilty of High-Treaſon.

His Character.

The firſt advance he made in the career of his Villany, was in the death of the *Earl of Strafford*; afterwards being a great Incendiary in the Civil Wars, and equally ungrateful and perfidious to *Charles the Martyr*, he cheriſhed and ſtrengthened the Party of the Traytors: and though more cautiouſly than innocently, he was not preſent at the Condemnation of the *King*; yet after the Murder of *Charles*, he was very active in changing the *Monarchy* into a *Commonwealth*, and in aboliſhing for ever the Government of *Kings*.

But at length, when *Cromwel* got into the Supreme Power, being ill-affected and envious againſt all Government by a ſingle Perſon, he was neglected and laid aſide; But when the *Rump* came again into play, with the pretences of a *Brutus* or *Caſſius*, he ſtept again to the Helm of Government, and was one of the *Committee of Safety*. He was, as to Religion, a man of an inconſtant and unſetled mind, who profeſſedly hating the name of a *King*, was

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was treacherous to *Charles the Firſt*, and envious to *Charles the Second.*

Beheaded. *January* the fourteenth, being brought to a Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, with a moſt affected ſhew of a compoſed and ſedate mind, as the reſt of the Traytors had already done, he inſiſted upon the *Supreme Authority of Parliament*, and ſpake much of the *Presbyterian Covenant*, the Engine of all our Evils, which heretofore when he was a far more refined Heretick, he had ſo often deſpiſed and laughed at. Jan. 14. 1662, 63.

And whilſt he ſtill perſiſted in aſſerting his own innocence, not without reproaching his *Judges*, Sir *John Robinſon* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, wanting patience to hear any more, interrupted him. Being vexed at this, like a mad man, he tore the written Speech that he had in his hand, and though he had never ſhew'd great reſolution amongſt his Party, yet reſolutely, or rather ragingly, he ſubmitted to the blow of the Executioner; and fell a Sacrifice to the Ghoſt of the *Great Strafford*, and to the *Subverted Monarchy.*

Lambert *is condemned*; But *Lambert*, who ſtood indicted with *Vane*, had better luck, and behaved himſelf with ſo much modeſty in his looks and words at his tryal, that though he ſuffered the Sentence of Death, as deſerving the utmoſt Rigour, yet he taſted the Kings Mercy, and ranſomed his Life by a perpetual Impriſonment.

But obtains Mercy from the King.

The Duke of Ormond *goes* Lord Deputy *into* Ireland. July 9. About the middle of Summer the Duke of *Ormond* went over to *Ireland* as *Lord Deputy* of that Kingdom; there to give as great inſtances of Civil Prudence, as heretofore he had erected Trophies of Military Glory during the Iriſh War.

The Ceremonies and Rites of the Church confirmed by Parl. May 29. The Parliament now ſitting, the *Convocation of the Clergie* ſate alſo; and the Licentiouſneſs of Fanatical Sects increaſing, made the diſtreſſed

1663. Church look to the King and Parliament for relief: It was therefore enacted by the King in Parliament, That the Sacraments of *Baptiſm* and the *Lords Supper*, and the publick Prayers and *Liturgie* of the Church, ſhould be celebrated after the ancient manner of the Reformed Church of *England*; the *Fanaticks* on all hands crying out againſt it, and refuſing to conform.

The licentiouſneſs of Fanaticks.

For though they enjoyed Impunity with the rewards of their Crimes, yet no gracious condeſcenſions of the King could oblige them. The Clemency of the Prince was maliciouſly interpreted by the *Sects*, and the Power of this indulging Monarch was grievous to theſe *Fanaticks*. Nor had the King granted ſo much to Traytors, but that they ſtill thought they might take to themſelves more; and the brazen-faced *Sectariſts* demand of the *Son*, the ſame liberty of Religion which had undone the *Father*.

And without any reſpect or reverence to *Majeſty* and the *Laws*, frequent Conventicles of ſeditious men were kept: Meetings were to be found everywere in Towns and Villages, and the Inſolence of the Rabble growing greater by the boldneſs of their Preachers and the Lenity of the King, there was nothing but a muſtering of Parties, boaſting of ſtrength, and polling of heads amongſt the Factious; all which ſeemed to threaten imminent Dangers.

The attempt of Venner the Cooper.

The year before, the *Fifth-monarchy-men* under *Venner*, raiſed the firſt Stirs amongſt the Preaching Rout; but their Fury, like the thundering Rage of *Marius* of old, *was confined within the City, and there expired*, the fierceſt of the Traytors being killed upon the ſpot, and others at length brought to the Gallows.

Flor.

But this year a darker, and therefore more dangerous

gerous Conſpiracy was hatched; the ſame being the cauſe of this, as of all other Plots, to wit, a looſe and obſtinate licentiouſneſs in Religion. 1663.

Many of all *Sects* were concerned in it, ſeveral Officers of *Cromwel*'s late disbanded Army, Members of the late *Rump-Parliament*, and many who were turned out of the *Kings* and Churches Lands, which they had heretofore ſacrilegiouſly purchaſed. And a ſecret Committee at *London* had the direction of all their Councils and Actings.

The chief deſigne of their Villany, was to kill the *King* and Duke of *York*, murder the Duke of *Albemarle*, ſet fire to the City, ſeize the Tower of *London*, rifle the Exchequer; and through the Bowels of the Nation, drive on a new Fanatical Government.

Infamous Libels are found.

In the mean time, to make way to the bold Attempts of theſe Raſcals, it was reſolved, that impudent Libels ſhould be ſcattered about; but the Papers being ſeized at the Preſs, the Printer was hanged, and payed dear for his officious medling.

Twine *the Printer hang'd* Feb. 24. 1663, 64.

But the licentiouſneſs and boldneſs of the *Conventielers* growing greater and greater daily, the *Parl.* made an Act to put a ſtop to the ſeditiouſneſs of the People, commanding the doors of the Meeting-houſes to be ſhut, or guarded by Souldiers, and impoſing upon Delinquents, for the firſt fault a *Fine*; for the ſecond, *Impriſonment*; and for the third, *Baniſhment*: that puniſhment might at length reſtrain thoſe whom Clemency could not gain.

Conventicles forbidden by Act of Parl.

Nevertheleſs, a War with *Holland* breaking forth, and the Laws being ſilent amongſt the noiſe of Arms, the domeſtick Calamity grew ſo ſtrong, that the Authority of the *Juſtices of the Peace* not being able to prevail againſt the obſtinacy of the Rabble, the evil catched like *Wild-fire*, and all future Remedies

1664. medies ſeemed poſthumous and unſeaſonable.

Complaints of the injuries of the Dutch.

The great injuries done by the *Dutch* to the *Engliſh* Merchants, having for a long time paſt unrevenged, did now occaſion great grievances, and complaining at *London*. Though there was no Nation upon Earth whom the *Dutch* deſired more for Friends and leſs for Enemies than the *Engliſh*, who in the late War had proved themſelves as formidable Enemies to the *Hollanders*, as heretofore they had been to their Enemies; yet they unjuſtly broke that Peace, which ſome years before they had diſhonourably begg'd of the *Rump* and *Cromwel*, (as being neceſſary for their intereſt) by humble Addreſſes, ſordid and baſe compliances of their Embaſſadours; and had ſince confirmed by a ſtricter League with *King Charles the Second*.

For to that pitch of Arrogance and Perfidy was that State of Fiſher-men, and croud of crafty Merchants, who under the Title of a *Commonwealth* diſliked all *Monarchy*, raiſed, that (beſides the detaining of the Iſland of *Poloron*, which they were obliged to deliver up by the Articles of Peace) they took a great many *Engliſh* Ships upon the Coaſt of *India* and *Africa*, and making Prize of the Ships and Goods, made the Sea-men Priſoners, and added cruelty and ſcoffing to their Injuſtice.

What were the injuries of the Dutch.

They block up many Ports of the *Indies* which the *Engliſh* had long poſſeſſed with *Men of War*; and having unjuſtly intercepted the *Engliſh* Trade, they ſold to other Nations at home, at the dear rates, the *Commodities* which they had for a ſmall matter bought in the *Indies*.

They injure,

Holmes, who was Admiral for the *King* upon the Coaſt of *India* and *Africa*, behaving himſelf modeſtly in his Commiſſion, was by thoſe *Dutch* Pirats, by Sea and Land, whom neither the Eaſt nor Weſt could ſatisfie, contrary to the Law of Nations,

often

1664.

often fired upon. At which, *Holmes*, a man of a daring temper, and unacquainted with affronts, being provoked, reſolved to continue no longer on the defenſive part, but to turn Aggreſſour; and therefore bringing his Guns aſhore, and planting them on Batteries, he took ſome of the Dutch Garriſons, and revenged the injuries he had received.

And provoke Holmes.

But with falſe Accuſations they complain of *Holmes*, who had been ſo often and baſely uſed by them, to the *King*, crying out againſt him as a Robber, and the cauſer of a War; as if by making a clamour firſt, they might ridiculouſly excuſe their own Treachery.

They falſly accuſe him.

Theſe and many other Encroachments of the *Dutch* ſo incenſed the *Parliament*, that they forthwith voted it neceſſary to revenge ſo many Injuries done to the Merchants, and a conſiderable ſupply of money to be given to the *King*, to carry on a War, which they judged ſafer than a doubtful and uncertain Peace.

The Parl. is moved at the injuries of the Dutch, *and addreſs to the* King.

Though the King was highly offended to hear of the Injuries done to his Subjects, and concerned in honour to right them; yet he reſolved to try other ways of adjuſting matters, before he came to force of Arms; having therefore diſpatched Letters to Sir *George Downing*, his Embaſſadour at the *Hague*, he demands a ſpeedy reparation of the Injuries done to his Subjects from the *States*. But though the *Kings* demands were juſt and lawful, yet it was in vain to repreſent the Rapines of Dutch Merchants to trafficking *States*, ſince they who were in Authority, and ſhould have puniſhed theſe Abuſes, reaped the profit of them.

The King demands Reparation by his Embaſſadour;

But in vain.

But amongſt theſe Clashings about Injuries, a new cauſe of quarrel, not heard of till then, happened, through the treachery of the *Dutch*. For the

1664. the year before, the *States General* having been oppreſſed by the frequent Piracies of the *Algerines*, by Embaſſadours made earneſt application to the *King*, that joyning his Fleet with theirs, he would help to revenge the Injuries of theſe Infidels: Nor was the *King* wanting to contribute to the ſafety of his Subjects, and of all Chriſtendom; but ſent Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, an expert *Sea-Commander*, with a well-appointed Fleet, to joyn and aſſiſt the Fleet commanded by *de Ruyter*.

De Ruyter's action at Guiny.

But whilſt *Lawſon* was wholly taken up in fighting and purſuing the Pirats Ships (of which he had ſunk and burnt many) upon the Coaſt of *Barbary*, *De Ruyter* gave him the ſlip, and by orders from the *States* directed his courſe to *Guiny*; where falling upon the *Engliſh* who were ſecure, and neither expected nor deſerved any ſuch thing, he committed no leſs Robberies upon us, than he pretended to revenge on the *Algerines*, but with far greater treachery.

The news of ſo baſe an action being freſhly brought to *London*, ſo incenſed all People, that the King highly offended, commanded all *Dutch* Ships in the Ports of *England* to be ſtopt, and all further Treaties of Pacification being laid aſide, both ſides prepare for a War.

The contumelious ſaucineſs of the Dutch.

But during the preludes of the approaching War, the *Dutch*, a more contumelious than formidable Enemy, inflamed the rage and hatred of the *Engliſh* by ſcurrilous Libels, Medals, and many baſe and ſatyrical Pictures, according to the innate inſolency and barbarous vanity of that People.

De Wit *the* Dutch *Dictator.*

Holland more powerful both in Wealth and Cunning, led the reſt of the *United Provinces* by the noſe; and *Dewit Holland*, a man of a crafty and ſubtle Wit, malicious Eloquence, and of more reputation for cunning Policy than Honeſty. The

greatneſs

greatneſs of the Family of the Prince of *Orange*, and the vaſt power of the *King* of Great *Britain* by Sea, ſtood in the way of the Artifices of this arrogant man, and of his own *Holland*. 1664.

His Character and Arts.

To ruine therefore the Prince and *Family of Naſſau*, he raiſed ſecret jealouſies againſt him; and by leſſening the authority of *Orange* with the *States*, he alone managed all affairs, and under colour of ſtanding up for the liberty of the Commonwealth, ruled abſolutely at his pleaſure; and ſo confident of himſelf grew this *Butter-box*, that having trode upon the Dignity of the Prince at home, he thought that by turns he might make fools of all the Kings of *Europe*. He hated the *King* of *Great Britain* the more, becauſe he feared him; and ſince, through ſimilitude of Manners, he had been a great friend to the Traytor *Cromwel*, he was therefore the more implacable Enemy to King *Charles*. Certainly, next to the inſatiable Avarice of the Dutch Nation, all the hatred of that People to the *Engliſh*, is to be attributed to *Dewit* and his Faction.

The confidence of the Dutch, *and why.*

To ſo great an Arrogance were the *Dutch* raiſed, that it was given out amongſt the People, *That the affairs of* England *were not in ſuch a poſture, that the Civil War of* England *being juſt ended, they had money enough ſtill to make War abroad; nor that the* King *was, as yet, ſo well ſeated in the Government, that he could revenge the Injuries of the* Dutch: *that it was not ſafe for him to truſt Arms in the hands of his Subjects, which afterwards they might be unwilling to lay down.*

That the Engliſh *were not now the ſame Enemies as the* Dutch *had found them to be under the Rump-Parliament; that the warlike fierceneſs of that Nation was gone with the* Sectarians, *and that there remained amongſt them none but a company of ſilly Cowards: That there were a great many* Fanaticks *in* England,

who

1664. *who perhaps would fight for the* Dutch *against the* King, *or at least would not fight for him against those who were for liberty of Conscience.* Nor was there wanting a great many of our fugitive Traytors amongst the *Dutch*, who made these false reports to be believed.

Alan's *action.* The bloudy War which broke out the year following, was ushered in by the taking of Ships on both sides; and *Alan* with a Fleet of English Ships, for securing the Merchant-men, and anoying the *Dutch* in the *Mediterranean*, fell upon the *Dutch Smirna*-Fleet in the Streights upon their return homewards; and having killed them many men, sunk some Ships, *Brakell* the Admiral of the Fleet being slain; he took and brought off four of the Enemies Ships, which was the first booty and glad *Omen* of the War; but one of them richly laden, being much shattered and leaky, foundered in the greedy Sea.

The K. *visits the* Colledge *of Physicians of* London. April 15. 1665. Nor was the King so wholly taken up with the thoughts of the approaching War, but that he also minded other affairs, and his innocent diversions; he therefore on the fifteenth of *April* visited the famous *Colledge* of Physicians of *London*, and was received very honourably by the *Doctors*.

There he saw the Marble Statue of *Harvey* the chief Pilot of the Blouds Circulation; and heard the *President Ent*, with equal Eloquence and Art, reading upon the mysteries of Anatomy, whom there he knighted: There he saw the *chief Physician Bates*, renowned in the skill of Physick and of Latine; and *Fraser* his *chief Physician* since; and *Glisson*, excellent in *Medicine* and Philosophy; and successful *Micklethwait*; and much-esteemed *Cox*; and *Scarborough*, accomplished in all Natural Philophy, and no less famous amongst the Muses; with *Wharton* the Secretary of the *Glandules*; and acute

Merret;

1665.

Merret: beſides many others eminent in the Art of *Curing*; to whom at length were aſſociated, *Willis* the great Reſtorer of Medicine, but of too ſhort a life, with *Lower* and *Needham*, who have illuſtrated the *Faculty* by their Writings.

The Royal Fleet ready to put to Sea about the end of April.

And now was the Royal Fleet ready to ſet ſail, divided into three Squadrons, the firſt commanded by the Duke of *York* Lord High Admiral of *England*; the ſecond, by the moſt Illuſtrious *Prince Rupert*; and the third, by the Earl of *Sandwich*, famous in Expeditions at Sea.

The chief Commanders,

And Flag-Officers.

The other Flag-Officers of the Fleet were *Lawſon* and *Alan*, lately returned from the Mediterranean; *Jordan*, *Spragg*, *Smith*, *Meens*, and *Tiddiman*, all famous Sea-Commanders.

Volunteers.

Many perſons of great Quality went Volunteers to Sea; and though they had no command in the Fleet, yet they thought it honourable in ſo juſt a War to try their fortune with the Duke of *York*.

The number of Ships and men in the Royal Fleet.

The Fleet conſiſted of about an hundred Men of War, having on board to the number of about thirty thouſand Sea-men and Souldiers; and on the two and twentieth of *April* weighed, and with joyful *Huzza's*, full Sails, and flying Streamers, ſailed over to the Coaſt of *Holland*, and came to an Anchor before the *Texel*; the Enemy in the mean while, for all their bragging, not daring to come out.

They ſet ſail April 22.

The Royal Fleet blocks up the Coaſt:

His *Royal Highneſs* in the mean time, in the *Royal Fleet*, rode Maſter of the Seas; and many *Dutch* Ships returning home in ſight of the Shore, fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, as Booties caſt into their way by Providence.

And the Enemy delaying to come out, returns back to the Engliſh Coaſt.

But his *Royal Highneſs*, more deſirous of Fighting than Prey, after he had expected almoſt a month the coming out of the Enemy upon their own Coaſt, Victuals and Proviſions growing ſcarce, came back

1665.

back again to the Engliſh Coaſt, giving them opportunity, if they had a mind to fight, to come out.

The Dutch *Fleet comes out.*

But now the Commanders of the Dutch Fleet, moved with the diſgrace of being blocked up, but more at the Reproaches and Execrations of the people, uſe all diligence to bring out their Ships.

The number & Commanders of it.

The Fleet of the *States General* conſiſted of above an hundred ſail of Men of War, in ſeven diviſions, which were commanded by *Opdam*, *Trump*, *Cartener*, *Schramp*, *Stillingwolfe*, *Cornelius* and *John Evertſons*; *Opdam* in the mean time being Admiral. But as the *Dutch* ſtood out to Sea, a Fleet of *Engliſh* Merchant-men coming from *Hamborough*, in the dark of the night, by miſtake, fell in amongſt the Enemies: nor were they ſenſible of their Captivity, till it was too late to flie for it; and ſo they payed dear for their unhappy and prohibited Voyage.

They take the Engliſh Hamborough *Fleet.*

The taking of the *Engliſh* Merchant-men was to the Enemies ſo joyful a preſage of a future Engagement, that directing their courſe towards *England*, they reſolved not to expect the coming of the *Engliſh*; but, not doubting of ſucceſs, to attack them in their own Coaſt. His *Royal Highneſs* in the mean-time was at Anchor with his Fleet near *Harwich*; where ſo ſoon as he was advertiſed by his Scouts that the Enemy approached, rejoycing at the long wiſhed-for occaſion of an Engagement, on the firſt of *June*, ſetting his Fleet in order with all the expedition he could, he ſteers directly againſt the *Dutch*.

Next day he came in ſight of the Enemies Fleet: by night they were got near to one another; and on the third of *June*, with the day, the Fight began.

A Sea-fight, June 3.

The Fleet being drawn up, undaunted *Prince Rupert*

1665.

Rupert was in the Van; in the Body of the Fleet was the Duke of *York*; and the Earl of *Sandwich* in the *Rear*, an expert Commander at Sea; the Enemies Fleet being in order to engage them.

The firſt ſhot that was fired, was from *Prince Rupert*'s Squadron: And both Fleets, as yet, fought with their great Guns at a diſtance. The *Engliſh* had the wind; which the *Dutch* on the other hand ſtrove to gain, it being weſterly: but whilſt both Fleets ſtrive for the wind, the order of the Ships engaged changing, the middle of the Engliſh Fleet came up with the front of the Enemies; and *Lawſon*, who commanded the next Ship to the Admiral, bearing in amongſt their Fleet, they came by a cloſer engagement to try the fate of both Nations.

By and by the Admirals of both Fleets by chance engaged together. There was great ſlaughter on both ſides, and it was a bloudy Victory to his *Royal Highneſs*: for whether by careleſneſs or our ſhot, fire got into the Powder-Room, and preſently blew up *Opdam*'s Ship. He flying up into the Air, prevented a ſhameful flight with his Fleet; and falling again into the Sea,

Opdam's ſhip blown up.

----Animam morti non redidit uni.

Reſigned his life to ſeveral deaths.

The loſs of the Admiral was attended with the overthrow of his Fleet; and the *Engliſh* redoubling their courage, bore in more furiouſly amongſt the Enemies. But the *Dutch* Fleet wanted both ſtrength and courage to continue the Engagement longer, and with full ſail run for it. Now it was no more an Engagement, but a Purſuit, accompanied with ſlaughter, and the uſual calamities of Fugitives:

The Dutch *put to flight.*

1665.

Dutch *Ships burnt.*

for four of the Enemies Ships, in the haſte and conſternation of the flight, falling foul of one another, were by an *Engliſh* Fire-ſhip burnt all together. Three more of their Ships being afterward in the ſame manner pelleted together, were by the next Fire-ſhip likewiſe ſet on fire and burnt.

Then were many of the *Dutch* Ships taken, and more ſunk; nor was there any end of deſtroying and purſuing, till it was dark night. The Purſuit continued next day with the ſame vigour, and the *Dutch* fled with the leſs ſhame, that they had the Duke of *York* to follow them.

This was a famous Victory, nothing ſhort of the ancient Atchievements of the *Engliſh*; five thouſand of the Enemies being killed or taken, and *Opdam*, *Cartener*, *Stillingwolfe*, and *Stamp*, the chief Commanders of the *Dutch* Fleet, dying in the Engagement.

The Commanders of the Dutch *Fleet killed.*

There were about eighteen Ships burnt, ſunk, and taken. Many of the Enemies ſwimming in the Sea, after the Ships were burnt or ſunk, his *Royal Highneſs*, who is merciful in his anger, cauſed them to be taken up, having for that purpoſe ordered out Boats. *For why ſhould they die, who hardly deſerved to live?*

Volunteers killed in the Engliſh *Fleet.*

It was a greater than joyful Victory to the *Engliſh*, the flower of the Honorary Volunteers being ſlain: Juſt by the Duke fell the Earls of *Portland* and *Fulmouth*, the Lord *Mufcarrey*, and a Warlike Youth the Son of the Earl of *Burlington*, who joyfully ſacrificed their lives to the Honour of their Country, and to that Victory wherein they had the Duke of *York* for a Witneſs of their Valour, and a Bewailer of their Deſtiny. The valiant Earl of *Malborough*, and Rear-Admiral *Sanſon*, died alſo in the Bed of Honour. *Lawſon* being wounded in the thigh, ſix weeks after died, with Honour and Reputation:

Lawſon *dies.*

putation: And though being in a dying condition, he could not make use of the Triumphant Victory to which he had largely contributed, yet he tasted of the pleasure of it. There were not many killed nor slain, and onely one Ship lost. And thus his *Royal Highness* brought home the Royal Fleet loaded with Triumph and the Spoils of Victory. 1665.

And whilst the *States of the United Provinces* were taken up in punishing the cowardise of Commanders, *King Charles* in the mean time conferred Honours upon his deserving Officers; and knighted *Allan*, *Smith*, *Jordan*, *Meens*, *Tiddeman*, and *Spragg*, for their brave and good services.

The *Dutch Fleet*, in the mean time fighting ill, having been soundly beaten, *De Ruyter* in his Piracies abroad had somewhat better fortune. After the action at *Guiny* he attempted other *English* Islands in *America*. From *Barbadoes*, an Island well fortified and defended, he was repulsed with disgrace. From thence falling to *New-found-land*, and having easily mastered it, he made prize of all he found there, and having cruelly used the Inhabitants, plundered them of all, and wasted the Island, he returned home. Upon his return he was immediately from a Pirat advanced to be Admiral, being the onely person judged worthy to succeed *Opdam* in the command of the Navy.

De Ruyter is abroad at Piracy.

Attempts Barbadoes. April 20.

Spoils New-found-land.

Is made Admiral.

But for this year the *Dutch* were sufficiently cowed, as no more to fight the Victorious *English* by Sea. Wherefore the Duke of *York*, who liked better to overcome than to spoil his Enemies, seeing there was no hopes of any farther Engagement, spent the remaining part of the year on shoar.

But *Sandwich* being made Admiral of the Royal Fleet, set sail again towards the Coast of *Holland*, and offered, though in vain, a second Engagement; but the Enemy could not be overcome, till they were found.

The Earl of Sandwich *braves the* Dutch.

1665. The *States* in the mean time, after their Fleet of War was disabled and beaten off of the Sea, were in no small fear and apprehension for their *East India* Fleet, which was upon the way homeward richly laden; nor was the eagerness of the *English* less, to catch the Booty: But that Fleet having intelligence that *Holland* was blockt up by the *English*, and thinking it safer to shelter themselves in another Dominion, put into *Bergen*, a famous Harbour in *Norway*.

The Royal Fleet attacks the Dutch East India Fleet *in* Bergen. Part of the *Royal* Navy hastened thither; and sending five Frigats into the Harbour, they attacked the Dutch Ships that lay secure under the protection of the Castle and shore; nor did it seem difficult to have taken them, had not the *English*, contrary to expectation, found another Army to deal with, the *Danes* firing upon them from the Castle. The *English*, greedy of the Prey, were a little too rash in running themselves into the danger of a double Enemy; but their Valour made amends for their boldness.

A sharp Dispute continued for almost six hours, to the vast damage of the Goods on board the shattered and torn Ships; and to no small loss on our side, especially from the Castle: but at length, after a proof of great but unseasonable courage, to prevent greater loss and slaughter, the Fleet retreated: and seeing they could not enjoy the spoils of the Enemy, they had the satisfaction to embezile and sink them, as if they had got, when the Enemy lost.

A Plague breaks out in London. But amidst the Triumphs of War, the Joys of the Victorious *English* were short and interrupted; for this was a doletul year, through the breaking out of a raging Plague, not occasioned by an influx of the Stars, nor the French Pox degenerating into a Contagion, as some idle men dreamt; but as it

was

was more credibly reported, by the infected Goods that were brought from *Holland* into *England*: ſo that when the Dutch Arms could not beat us, their Contagion overcame us. 1665.

After it had by the ſpace of almoſt one whole year, raged in *London*, and ſwept away infinite numbers of people, it ſpread over many other and far diſtant Cities and Towns of *England*. Nor could the Contagion be ſtopt by any humane arts or skill of Phyſicians, before it had carried away above two hundred thouſand Souls within leſs than two years time; neither were the days and nights long enough for the dying to expire in, nor Church-yards big enough to contain the bodies of the dead, though they were heaped together into Graves. *And then rages over England.*

The *King* and *Court* leaving the deſolate City, removed to *Oxford*, as yet clear from infection, and ſeated in a wholſome Air: thither alſo went the Judges and Courts of Juſtice. *The K. went to* Oxford.

The Nobility, Gentry, and rich Citizens, in the mean time, avoiding all confluence of people, lurked every where in Country-houſes and Villages. The onely perſons of great Quality that ſtayed in *London*, were the *Duke of Albemarle* and *Earl of Craven*; which was both a comfort and ſafety to the City, in ſo great a Deſolation and Mortality of the Citizens.

The Plague at length ceaſing in *London*, the earneſt deſires of the Citizens invited back the King, who on the firſt of *February* returned from *Oxford* to *London*; where the Bonfires during the night, expreſſed the hearty Joys of the People, glad to ſee their Prince, and that he ſaw the City now again in health. *The K. returned to* London. Feb. 1. 1665, 66.

Neighbouring Nations as yet looked at a diſtance upon the bloudy War betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. But *Louis* the French King, powerful

1665. in men and money, after he had for some time stood *neutral*, thought and hoped that the *Dutch* and we having mutually wearied and tired our selves out in War, he might have a fair opportunity to raise his power at Sea, though the *genius* of that Nation seems not to be out out for that profession.

War proclaimed in London *against the* French. Feb. 10.

He therefore smoothed up the *Dutch* with promises of assisting them with his Fleet, being willing that they should have the dominion over the Seas, whom he intended to conquer by Land; and thereupon declared War against the *English*, which was reciprocally proclaimed in *London* against the *French*. In the same condition he stood with *Denmark*, that the triumphs of *Charles* might be the larger.

Now besides the *Dutch* (our Rivals at Sea) the *English* Valour alone, as yet unshaken, resisted the threatning *French* and *Denmark*, then alied with *Holland*, as was equal to them all.

The affairs of *England* never succeeded better at Sea, than under the auspicious conduct of his Royal Highness *James Duke of York*, who always preferred the welfare of his Country before his own life; yet he was dearer to the *King* and *Kingdom*, being the *second hope of Britain*, than that his Princely person, born to the highest Honours, should be any more exposed to so mean and base an Enemy.

1666. Therefore in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty six, *Prince Rupert* and the *Duke of Albemarle* were pitched upon for the command of the Royal Navy; who going on board equal in Power and Concord, they put to Sea with a Fleet well appointed for War: but presently after, *Prince Rupert*, by Letters from the *Privy Council*, has orders sent him in all haste, with twenty good Frigats of

Prince Rupert and the D. of Albemarle, *Commanders of the Fleet. The Prince is sent against the French Fleet.* May 29.

the Fleet, and others lying at *Portſmouth*, to ſtand over for the Coaſt of *France*, and hinder the *French* Fleet from joyning the *Dutch*. 1666.

I would to God it had not been judged of ſuch an importance to make ſo great an effort to hinder the coming up of an Enemy, who would not have much injured us, nor aſſiſted their Friends; nor was there any thing to be feared from the *French* Fleet, after the late overthrow of the *Dutch*.

But they laying hold of the opportunity of the *Engliſh* Fleet being divided, and never fighting but by wiles, and upon the advantage of number, with fourſcore and five Men of War, attack the Royal Navy, now much diminiſhed in number. With *Albemarle* there were not above fifty Frigats; but he being a General without fear, unacquainted with flight, and judging nothing too hard for his fortune, deſpiſed the Enemy, which ſo far ſurpaſſed him, as if they had been inferiour to him in number, ſo confident a thing is Courage; and preferring Glory before Safety, on the firſt of *June*, the day being pretty far advanced, he drew up his Fleet and bravely engaged the *Dutch*. Here number ſtrove with Valour; but the Sea being rough, the *Engliſh* could not then uſe their lower *tire* of Guns, which never failed to ſhatter and tear their Enemies.

In the mean time the Dutch *Fleet offers* Albemarle *an Engagement:*

And they fight, June 1.

Albemarle did great actions in this Engagement, and every where behaved himſelf bravely, being fearleſs amidſt the thickeſt dangers, and bold to admiration; for bearing down with his own Ship upon the Enemies main Fleet, he broke quite through them, furiouſly firing on both ſides, till at length having given and received great loſs, and being diſabled in his Maſts, Sails and Rigging, he bore off. Part of the *Royal Fleet* defended the Duke, whilſt he refitted his Ship; and the reſt continued obſtinate in the Engagement, till they were parted by the night.

1666.

In this Engagement four *Dutch* Ships were burnt, and a Vice-Admiral and another of a leſs value, ſunk. And the *Dutch* took three *Engliſh* Ships, who being ſeparated from the reſt of the Fleet, were engaged at a diſtance.

The *Royal Fleet* in the mean time ſuffered moſt in their Rigging and Tackle; but all things by the diligence of the Sea-men being repaired in the night-time, next morning, the ſecond of *June*, *Albemarle* having called the Commanders to a Council of War on board his own Ship, ſpake to them to this purpoſe:

HAd we been afraid of the double number of the Enemy, we ſhould have ran for it yeſterday; but though we be inferiour to them in Ships, in all things elſe we have the better on't. Number made the Dutch *bold, and Courage us; let us reflect upon that Fortune, upon that Valour which heretofore the* Dutch *have felt to their woful experience; we have the ſame Enemy to deal with, whom we have ſo often beaten, and made it our cuſtom ſo often to overcome. Let our Adverſaries find to day, that though our Fleet be divided, our Courage is entire; and when we conſider our own Glory and ancient Renown, how much more honourable will it be to die not unrevenged upon the Seas, than to be carried Priſoners in our own Ships, as a Spectacle of Triumph to the* Dutch? *It is leſs diſgrace to be overcome than to flie; and Death is to be preferred before Fear.*

The Fight is renewed. June 2.

The Fleet thus encouraged, equally deſpiſing their own ſafety, and their too numerous Enemy, and being eager to retrieve their Honour, all deſire an Engagement; and *Albemarle*, confident in his own Valour, and in the eagerneſs of his Souldiers, declined not the Fight; ſo that both Fleets fell to it afreſh, and engaged Pell-mell.

The

1666.

The *Engliſh*, whoſe courage is redoubled by danger, put the Enemy hard to it, though they had had a freſh ſupply of Ships, Men, and Ammunition from *Holland*. The Royal Fleet being incompaſſed by ſo many *Dutch* Ships, had nothing elſe to truſt to but to fight ſtoutly, and make way for themſelves in the beſt manner they could, till at length many of the *Engliſh* Ships, being diſabled in their Sails and Rigging, ſtood away, and left the reſt to deal with and maul the Enemy. The *Dutch* ſunk one Ship of the Royal Fleet, and we our ſelves deſtroyed another that could not be brought off. The *Dutch* in the mean time had but one Vice-Admiral Ship burnt; and in this days Engagement with ſo numerous an Enemy, it was a harder thing for us to keep our ſelves from being beaten, than it was many times heretofore to have overcome them.

The Royal Fleet thinks of retreating. June 3.

But after that with more than humane force and courage they had aſſerted their own Honour and the Glory of *Britain*, leſt they might make that Engagement which the reſolution of the *Engliſh* had rendred famous, by an inconſiderate boldneſs, to be thought raſh; it was next day reſolved in a *Council of War*, to ſend off firſt the diſabled Ships, draw up the reſt that were in a condition of fighting, which were not above ſixteen, to make head againſt the Enemy, and ſo to make the ſafeſt retreat with the Fleet they could.

Aſhamed they were, and no leſs encouraged at the diſgrace, that they who were uſed to command the Seas, ſhould now decline the Enemy whom they had ſo often purſued; And *Albemarle* ſtood on the Quarter-deck, flying with threatning looks, and terrible to the Enemy in his very retreat: the boldeſt of whom that durſt approach him, with his *Stern*-Guns he either beat off or ſunk; *nor did o-*

ver-

1666. *ver-powered Valour give o're*; and they who fled, had more courage to flight than those that pursued.

But now *Fortune* seemed to repent that she had not seconded the Valour of the *English* Nation. For during this sharp Engagement, the noise of the Guns had reached the ears of *Prince Rupert*, who at a great distance was in search of the French Fleet, though in vain; he therefore tacking about, made all the sail he could to come into the assistance of his Friends, inflamed with the desire of fighting. The sight of his Ships was as joyful to our men, as formidable to the Enemy.

Prince Rupert opportunely rejoyns the Fleet.

But *Albemarl*'s Fleet had the ill fortune to take the neareſt course to joyn the Prince, who was so luckily come: For the unskilful Pilates hastening too rashly, steered upon Shelves and Banks, where many struck; but though the rest got off again, yet the *Prince*, a Man of War that deserved better fate, commanded by Sir *George Askeugh*, being so far got on as they could not bring her off, was burnt by the Enemy; and *Askeugh* being taken, was afterward carried in triumph into *Holland*.

The Royal Fleet being now rejoyned, on the fourth of *June* give chace to the *Dutch*, daring them to another Engagement. Hopes of Victory incited the *Prince* and *Albemarle* to revenge; but which of the two had greatest Courage, it is hard to determine. And now a fourth time they fall to it, in as memorable and fierce an Engagement, as perhaps ever happened upon the Ocean; though after three days fighting, they now contended with greater fury than force.

The Fight is again renewed June 4.

The *Prince* with his fresh and entire Squadron had the Van, carrying in his looks the resolution of his mind: *Albemarle* followed after, spurred on with new desires, from the supplies of others having

having received freſh Vigour to himſelf; but the Enemies Fleet kept at a diſtance, not daring to come to a cloſe Engagement; until *Prince Rupert*, deſirous to make an end of the matter, with his uſual undaunted Courage, fell in amongſt the thick of the *Dutch*, and ſunk and put to flight many of them; and had not *Albemarl*'s own Ship been extreamly diſabled in the former Engagements, and had not an unlucky ſhot of the laſt of the Enemies Ships, towards the evening brought the Maſt of *Prince Rupert*'s Ship by the board, and ſo hindred the purſuit, They had been able to have given a far better account of the *Dutch* in this days Engagement, who now ſtrove who could run faſteſt. But the *Dutch* found by this days experience, that the *Engliſh*, equal or unequal in force, were invincible, and that they muſt ſubmit to the fortune of *Charles*. 1666.

The Dutch *Fleet flies.*

The Enemy being now every where put to flight, the *Royal Fleet* ſeemed the more joyful that they had conquered the greater dangers, and ſo ſtood over to their own Coaſt, and put into Harbour to have their Ships refitted, which was done with all diligence.

The Royal Fleet *puts into Harbour.* June 6.

In the mean time the *Dutch* gave it out, that they had got the Victory, becauſe they came off ſo well; and after that they had celebrated a Mock-triumph over the *Engliſh* at home, with a more ridiculous fillineſs, they bragg'd of their Victory abroad, to the ſcorn and deriſion of Foreign Nations.

And having ſpeedily patched up a Fleet, they come in ſight of *Harwich*, and dared the *Engliſh* upon their own Coaſt; but with no deſigne of fighting, as appeared afterward, but onely out of a *Dutch* vanity, and a falſe perſwaſion of a Victory: for ſo ſoon as upon the ſeventeenth of *July* the Royal Fleet had put out to Sea again, the Enemy bore

The Dutch *dare the* Royal Fleet.

The Royal Fleet *ſets out to engage them.* July 17.

1666. bore off, trusting more to their Banks, than their Courage.

And engages the Dutch. July 25. On the twenty fifth of *July*, *Prince Rupert* and *Albemarle* engaged the *Dutch* on their own Coast; nor did they decline the Engagement, not out of confidence, but being compelled to be bold, and trusting to the neighbourhood of the shore, and the nature of the Coast.

There was a hot Dispute on both sides for almost four hours; but the *Dutch* suffering more in their reputation than in other losses, tacked about, and made all the sail they could to be gone, the report being, that *de Ruyter*'s Ship gave them the example of flying. The Royal Fleet pursued after with continual thundring of Guns, until the Enemies having got behind their Banks, the *English* were in greater danger from the Banks and Shelves of their Coast, than from the flying Enemy.

The Dutch *flie.*

A Squadron of Ships, under the command of *Trump*, stood it out still, and was attacked by a part of the Royal Fleet that was in the rear; but after a bloudy Engagement, they were forced in the night-time to follow the fortune of the rest, and shift for themselves upon the Coast of *Zealand*.

Jordan sunk *de Ruyter*'s Fire-ship; and in the Fight were taken *Banker* the Vice-Admirals Ship, and the stoutest Ship of *Harlem*, both which were burnt by the *English*, who were more intent upon the Battel than the Booty. *Everts* Admiral of the *Zealand*-Squadron, *Tirich Hides* of the *Friesland*, Vice-Admiral *Conder*, and six Captains of Ships were killed. The *English* lost onely one Ship, commanded by Captain *Hannam*, which after the Seamen had escaped, was burnt by the *Dutch*.

The Royal Fleet was more troubled at this base flight of the *Dutch*, than they were at the dangers of the former Engagement; and they were vexed that

that the cowardly running of the Enemy should have cut them short of a more triumphant Victory. But the *Dutch* always preferred a whole skin, though with a dishonourable flight, before Honour with danger. 1666.

Now did the Royal Fleet again block up the *Dutch* Coast, that they might keep the Seas, and make them ashamed of their overthrow; who now being so often beaten, were forced in their skulking holes, to acknowledge the prowess of the *English*; and seeing no Enemy appeared, the Merchant-ships that were daily taken, suffered what the Fleet better deserved. *The* Royal Fleet *blocks up* Holland.

But the *English* were unwilling to be idle upon the Dutch Coast, and therefore *Prince Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle* ordered out Sir *Robert Holmes*, a man of great undertaking, to the *Vly*; who sailing thither, and having left a guard of Ships at the entry into the Harbour, he took with him five Fire-ships, and one Frigat, besides Pinnaces and Boats manned with Souldiers and Sea-men, and boldly entring in, he burnt all the Ships in the Harbour to the number of one hundred and fifty Sail, many of them *East India* Ships laden. The Town of *Schilling* was afterwards taken and burnt, and the Plunder given to the Souldiers. And *Holmes* having shared the glory and danger with his men, came safe off, leaving behind him a blazing Bonfire of Ships, and an amazement amongst the Enemies. Holmes *sails to the* Vly; *And there burn* 150 *ships*;

The Enemy having now wholly abandoned the Sea, the *Prince* and *Albemarle* steered their course back again to *England*, leaving the terrour of their Names behind them.

After a tryal of Fortune both ways, the *Dutch* prevailing neither with equal nor greater force, they apply themselves to the *French* for the assistance so often *The* Dutch *Fleet sails for* France. Aug. 16.

1666. often promised and so often delayed, and turning their sails and desires towards *France*, they endeavoured in another Country to raise up an Enemy to the King of *Great Britain*.

Upon the news of the Enemies being out again at Sea, the Royal Fleet presently set sail from *England*, and beyond *Calis* blockt up the *Dutch* on the French Coast; but a strong East Wind blowing, and the Sea being very tempestuous, it was not safe for the *English* to keep out longer at Sea. They therefore bear away to St. *Helens* Point, a very fit place to intercept the French Fleet, that then was at the *Rochell*.

The Fire of London. Sept. 2. But so many fortunate successes over conquered Enemies abroad, were qualified by a sudden and most dismal Calamity at home; as if the beams of our shining Fortune were always to be interlaced and set off by Adversities. For on the second of *September*, a Lamentable Fire broke out in *London*; a sad Judgment of an offended God against *England*. The Fire began in a Bakers house in the lower part of the City near *Thames-street*, amongst old rotten houses apt to catch fire, and full of combustible Goods. The darkness of the night putting all things into terrour and confusion, increased the horrour of the Calamity. The Citizens being frightened, delayed the use of timely Remedies; and which was no small accession to the Evil, the people neglecting too much their houses, were too fatally set upon the hasty removing of their Goods, which were yet at length devoured by the nimble flames.

The raging East-Wind that had much incommoded the *English* Fleet at Sea, did far greater damage in the burning City, by carrying the force of the flames through the greatest part of *London*. The Conflagration grew soon insuperable by the blowing

blowing of the Wind; which raiſing in a moment the fire from the bottom to the tops of the houſes, and ſcattering flakes in all places, it grew too ſtrong for the endeavours of thoſe that laboured to quench it. Here the blazes of ruddy flames were to be ſeen, and there the crashing of falling houſes to be heard; and which was the ſadeſt Spectacle under the Sun, the doleful looks of ſo many Citizens, the wailings of deſolate women, and the cries of children and decrepit aged people: And in the forſaken ſhops of the wealthy Inhabitants, numbers of Thieves and Pilferers, greedier of Booty than the fire, villanouſly skulked. 1666.

No man that had a ſenſe of humane Miſeries, could ſee, and not be affected with the diſmal ſpectacle of the Ruining City of *London*. Now were there to be ſeen almoſt an hundred *Churches* conſecrated to *God*, and many *Hoſpitals*, the Monuments of ancient Piety; beſides other *publick Buildings*, raiſed at the vaſt charges of our Anceſtors; the famed *Sion-Colledge*, and *Royal Exchange* of *London*, the *Guild-hall*, and ſtately Cathedral of St. *Pauls*, as ſad Spectacles of the Calamity, either buried under their own Rubbiſh, or ſtanding Monuments of the devouring flames.

Whilſt all things elſe in the *Exchange* were conſumed, without ſparing the many Statues of our Kings, onely that of *Greſham* the Founder ſtood, to bewail the Ruines of his own Fabrick: ſo kind was Fate to the fame and memory of the liberal Doner.

The *King*, whoſe high-born Soul was above the Viciſſitudes of humane Contingencies, could not but with grief and ſorrow behold the lamentable Calamity of his wretched Subjects, and native City, exhorting, comforting, and adviſing them in their greateſt difficulties: And therefore he ordered, that

1666. that the next houſes to the fire ſhould be blown up, that a void ſpace being made betwixt the Buildings, the remaining part of the City, that which ſtill ſtood, might be ſaved; this being the laſt Remedy that could be uſed.

The *Duke of York* alſo, and many of the Nobility, praiſed and encouraged the forward, aſſiſted the diſtreſſed, and gave a generous example to all by the vigorous reſiſtance they made againſt the devouring flames.

The fire is put out, Sept. 4. After that the Conflagration had continued four days, to the ineſtimable loſſes of the Citizens, and had burnt down thirteen thouſand houſes, it was at length ſtopt more at the direction of Divine Providence, than by any humane Arts or Means.

The more loyal part of the Citizens, affected with the *Kings* ſorrow more than their own, put an high value upon his Royal Compaſſion towards them. But the *Fanatical* Clubs, who turned even the Calamities of their Country into Reproaches, could ſcarcely forbear to miſcal the Judgment a Command; or at leaſt did buz it about, that the *Kings* Guards were a hindrance to thoſe who laboured to put out the fire; but the commoner ſurmiſe was, that ſome *French* Agents had fired the City: And many reaſons were by fear or envy ſuggeſted to confirm the Treachery; nothing being more uſual amongſt the common People, than to make all Caſualties Deſignes.

The Fictions of Fanaticks concerning the Fire.

But thoſe who ſtill remembred the inſolent Rage of the *Londoners*, was the firſt cauſe of the Misfortunes of *Charles the Martyr*, that the City was polluted with ſacred Bloud, had beheld the ſad fate of the King, and that ſome of the Citizens had called for, and others permitted the murder of *Charles*, humbly acknowledged the avenging hand of *God* in the Judgment.

This

1666.

This was the iſſue of that memorable fire of *London*; which for above two thouſand years had been riſing to that greatneſs, which now it could hardly bear. A City impregnable againſt all the Efforts of ſo many foreign Enemies, and civil Broils; could no otherways be ruined but by the breaking out of a Fire amongſt old wooden Buildings that were but too apt fewel for the flames.

Yet after the City was deſtroyed, the *Londoners* bore up with greater reſolutions than the *Romans* did of old, when after the Conflagration made by the *Gaules*, they removed to *Veii*: nor did any man, deſpairing to ſee *London* again rebuilt, talk in the leaſt of changing his habitation; but the Citizens crowding themſelves into Booths and new-made Deal-board houſes, or into Dwellings in the Suburbs, took their meaſures about the building of a new City.

Liv. l.

The Fleets put into Harbour.

The approaching Winter now put an end to all Naval Engagements for this year; ſo that both Fleets, the *Dutch* and ours, put into Harbour and were laid up; and left the Privateers on each ſide to moleſt and take Merchant-men at Sea.

1667.

The *King* having laſt year tried the ſhifting way of his Enemies managing the War, reſolved upon other meaſures, that by intercepting the *Dutch* Trade, he might force them either to put an end to the War by fairly fighting, or willingly ſubmitting.

The K. keeps his Fleet at home;

So that without putting himſelf to the charge of a Fleet this Summer, he was adviſed to order ſome Frigats to cruiſe in the Scottiſh Seas, and others in the Weſt about *Plimouth*, thereby on all hands to ſhut up the *Britiſh* Ocean.

And ſecures the Coaſts and Harbours.

And by fortifying *Sherneſs* and *Upnore*-Caſtle, and drawing a Chain croſs the River of *Medway*, to ſecure the Royal Fleet at *Chatham*; which was better adviſed than executed.

1667.

Neighbouring Kings mediate a Peace.

And now the powerful Kings of *France* and *Sweden*, by their Embassadours mediate a Peace betwixt the *King* and the *States*; so that the heat of both Parties being somewhat allied by the mutual losses that two trafficking Nations had sustained in their Trade, as well as otherwise, they both condescend to send Embassadours to *Breda*, to treat of a Peace.

The Dutch by surprize fall upon the Kings Fleet.

June 10.

But the *English* trusting to a Truce or Cessation of Hostilities, in order to a Pacification, laid aside all thoughts of War, and the Guard-ships were far off at Sea: A part of the *Dutch* Fleet in the mean time entering *Chatham*-River, and having forced the Garrisons on the shore, and broken the Iron-Chain that was too weak to make a resistance, fell upon the Kings Fleet, which had often chased them, lying moored in the River, unrigged, and unprovided of Sea-men and Souldiers.

Our Frigats were burnt by the *Dutch* Fire-ships, and others snatched, not carried away in triumph, to the reproach no less of the *Dutch* Knavery, than of our own vain Security; a loss so much the greater, by how much it cost the Enemy the less.

Embassadours meet on both sides;

The King in the mean time pasting by the Treachery of that People, and conquering his own Resentment, (for the present) performed his Promise; and that he might not delay the Treaty of Peace, sent the Lord *Hollis*, one of his Majesties Privy-Council, and *Henry Coventry*, on the Prudence of which two the King much relied, as his Embassadours for carrying on the Peace; which at length was concluded at *Breda*, upon no less honourable Conditions, than what the King had demanded before the War.

And concludes a Peace.

July 9.

And now this Naval War, carried on by the successful Valour of *York*, the Courage of *Prince Rupert* and *Albemarle*, is at length terminated in a most

most spacious Peace; but such as drew the fate of that perfidious People upon themselves, the beginning of the fall of the *United Provinces* being to be calculated from that War. 1667.

The building of London *is taken into consideration.*

The *King* was not a little inclined to facilitate the profitable Peace, that the Citizens might have time to rebuild the City: And the War being now over, he made it his care to erect to himself Trophies of Glory, upon the Ruines and Rubbish of *London*; instead of a wooden City which he had lost, laying the foundations of one of Brick that might more powerfully resist the flames. Nor were the Citizens allowed to build at their pleasure, but the streets being first staked out, and enlarged on each side, every one built their houses in a strait and equal front; *London* rising again with so much beauty and uniformity, that the loss of the old City was hardly regreted.

The Royal Exchange founded. Octob. 23.

October the twenty third, the King being honourably received in the City, laid the first Stone in the foundation of the *Royal Exchange*: the next was laid by the *Duke of York*, an auspicuous Presage of the splendour of the Structure.

The death of Abraham Couley.

The loss of a memorable and much-lamented person, must here have an honourable mention in our Annals: For this year *Abraham Couley*, a man of famed Wit both at home and abroad, and for his delightful Learning, a Companion to the chief of the Nobility of *England*, departed this life. His Poetical fancy seemed to be inspired with some divine breath; which in sweet numbers, the Monuments of his own glory, after *Maro* and the delights of *Rome*, equalled the Raptures of *Pindar* and the Gracefulness of *Athens*. No man was more sublime, nor modest than he; and he lived with the same politeness and grace as he wrote, in Verse and Manners being equally conspicuous.

1668.

All hands are ſet to work in the rebuilding of London.

The next year was taken up in building of the City, with ſo great magnificence of modern Pomp, that it might be thought that the Citizens in digging and clearing the Ground, had found Mines of Gold amongſt the Rubbiſh of the Ruines. Nor will it be more the wonder of this than of future Ages, that during the calamity of a dangerous War, and amidſt the many loſſes of Merchants, there ſtill remained in the hands of the Citizens ſuch vaſt ſtocks of Money to build new and ſtately houſes; and in their minds ſo much reſolution, as in time of War to promote the works of Peace. For now in leſs than the ſpace of three years, a new City was raiſed; which being purged by Fire, and having expiated its former Offences, recovered more than its ancient Vigour and Glory.

Liv. *l.* 26.

The Fame of the *Roman* Virtue will hardly ſound ſo loud in future Ages, in that Lands were bought and ſold at *Rome*, whilſt *Hannibal* was at the Gates of the City; when now it may be heard, that after a late and devouring Plague, after a lamentable Fire that laid the City in Aſhes, and whilſt three moſt powerful Nations were in War with us, The *Engliſh* ſtill retained that confidence of their own fortune and height of mind, as to reſolve, and to be able to lay the Foundations of a new and ſo magnificent a City; and that under ſo much Affliction they dared to look beyond their Calamities.

The Monument of the dreadful Fire.

And that there might be a ſtanding Monument of the ſad Conflagration, or rather a Trophy of the Cities Reſtauration, the *Citizens of London* growing greater in their Misfortune, and magnificent in their Adverſity, erected in the place where the dreadful Fire began, a *Lofty Pillar* one hundred and ſeventy foot high, all of *Portland* Stone, not much inferiour to Marble.

And

1668.

And that we may not always have need to return to ancient Annals for Monuments of magnificence, this year *Gilbert Sheldon*, after the death of *Juxon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, perfected the *Theatre* of *Oxford*, a laſting *Temple* of the Muſes, and a *Capitol* conſecrated to *Apollo*; which he dedicated as a *Circle* to the learned Exerciſes and Acts of the Gown; and a new Ornament to the *Univerſity*, finiſhed at his own vaſt charges, and by the advice and contrivance of Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, a moſt ingenious Architect and Mathematician.

The Theatre *of* Oxford *founded in the year* 1664. *is finiſhed.*

On the outſide the Beholder may admire the magnificence of the Structure; and within be delighted with the comlineſs and beauty of the Theatre, being incompaſſed around with lofty and regular Benches for the convenience of Spectators.

Underneath is to be ſeen a moſt excellent and well-contrived Printing-houſe: All which, will be a laſting Monument of the Founders Fame, ſo long as men can ſpeak in his *Theatre*, or Books be printed at his *Preſs*.

1669.

Laſt year the Duke of *Ormond* returned into *England*, after he had, with the reputation of extraordinary Wiſdom, governed *Ireland* as Lord-Lieutenant for the ſpace of ſeven years; and this year the Lord *Roberts*, a Perſon of great Integrity, Prudence, and Worth, ſucceeded in that Government.

The Lord Roberts *Deputy of* Ireland. Sept. 20.

In the mean time the Duke of *Ormond*, with unanimous conſent of the Heads, Fellows, and Students of Colledges, is choſen Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*; and ſo being taken off from the care and troubles of the *Iriſh* affairs, he had the direction of the ſofter and more peaceful Muſes.

The D. of Ormond *made Chancellour of the Univerſity of* Oxford.

About the beginning of *September*, *Mary* the *Queen Mother* of *England* having for two and twenty years, in Baniſhment and Widowhood, lived

1669.

without the enjoyment of the *King* her Husband, and with the comfort of a flourishing Off-spring, having beheld her *Son* setled in the Throne, died at *Paris* in *France*, full of years, and of glory in all the changes of humane condition.

The Queen Mother dies in France.

About the end of this, and beginning of next year, the Duke of *Albemarle* also finished his course. And being now to speak the last of a man born for the publick good, famous in a high, and famous in a lower degree, I shall take a short review of his Birth, Manners, and Fortune.

The death of the Duke of Albemarle. Jan. 2. 1669, 70.

His Birth and Extraction.

George Monk, the Son of a Knight, was born in *Devonshire* in the West of *England*, in the year One thousand six hundred and eight: He had an elder Brother who inherited his Fathers Estate and Honour; and a younger, who being bred a Scholar, after the Restauration of the *King*, was made Bishop of *Hereford*.

He followed the Wars in his youth.

George the middlemost pushing his Fortune in the Camp, followed the Wars; wherein he was first initiated in his youth at *Cadis* against the *Spaniards*, and shortly after in an Expedition against the *French* at the Isle of *Ré*, both unfortunate in their issue; but with better success he served under the Earl of *Oxford* in *Holland*. The Civil Wars afterwards breaking out, occasioned first by the accursed madness of the *Scottish* Presbyterians, he returned into *England*, and listed himself under *Charles* the First, who then marched against the *Scots*, and next year after was made a Colonel in the Army against the *Irish* Rebels.

Under Charles the First *he served in the* Scottish *War.*

In Ireland *also.*

But the Civil War of *England* raging more furiously afterwards, whilst the Parliament called in the *Scots*, their Brethren in Iniquity, to their assistance; the King on the other hand having made a Truce with the *Irish* Rebels, called over his Forces from *Ireland*, for his own defence at home: and *Monk* being

being one of the Commanders of that Army, with the rest joyned the King at at *Oxford*; but whilst by orders from the *King* he mustered the Irish Forces in the Camp, he was unexpectedly surprized and taken by *Fairfax*, who served the *Parliament*; and being carried to *London*, lay there almost four years Prisoner in the Tower. Whilst he was there shut up and in distress, the *King* sent him secretly an hundred Pieces of Gold; which considering the straights his *Majesty* was then put to, was no small Argument of his Royal Affection towards him.

1669,70.

He joyns the K. at Oxford.

Is taken by the Parliament, *and made prisoner in the Tower of* London.

But being at length tired out with an irksome imprisonment, and, for the sake of liberty, changing sides, he took in with the *Parliament*, and went again over into *Ireland*; where he did many brave actions against the *Irish* Rebels, not without Presages of becoming sometime a great General, as being the onely person who seemed to have carried with him Honesty and Civility to the Civil War.

He takes on with the Parliament;

And goes to Ireland.

Here it was that first of all he gained the good esteem of *Cromwel*, who then commanded the *Parliament*-Forces in *Ireland*, having performed an action more advantageous to his General, than honourable to himself. The *Irish* War being ended, the Summer following he marched with *Cromwel* against the *Scots*, and did not a little contribute to his fortunate Successes in *Scotland*.

He marches with Cromwel *into* Scotland.

Having been so often victorious at Land, and now an old Commander, he tried his fortune at Sea; and under the *Rump-Parliament* was very successful against the *Dutch*, having in two Engagements beaten them and put them to flight.

He fights against the Dutch *under the* Rump-Parliament.

At length when *Cromwel* got into Supreme Power, he was made Governour of *Scotland*; which Trust, with equal reputation of Equity and Prudence, he discharged during the space of almost

Is by Cromwel *made Governour of* Scotland.

1669,70. five years: until Quarrels and Animoſities happening at *London* betwixt the *Rumpers* and *Colonels* of the Army, he laid hold on the occaſion for reſtoring of the *King*.

But at what time firſt he framed the deſigne of reſtoring *Charles* to the Throne, I ſhall hardly preſume to determine: Cavillers, and thoſe that make the worſt of things, gave it out, that his dutiful ſervices to the *King* were but fortuitous; but they who judge impartially, affirm that it was a deſigne laid many years before. Certainly the beſt of *Kings*, more mindful of the effects of his Loyalty, than of its beginning, received the duty of *Albemarle*, as extraordinary and kind ſervices, and honourably and liberally rewarded them.

The year before his death, he fell into a *Dropſie*; and being weary of the ordinary methods and advice of Phyſicians, he made uſe of a certain Quack-Medicine, which in appearance recovered him; but his body being opened after his death, a great deal of Water was found in his Bowels, and much congealed Bloud in both the Ventricles of his Heart, and other neighbouring Veſſels: For the motion both of the Heart and Bloud being weakened by an inveterate Dropſie, gave occaſion to the ſtagnating of the chylous juyce about the Heart; which ſtopping the Fountain of the circulating Bloud, put at length a ſtop to his laſt breathings for life.

The Marriage of his onely Son was in a manner the laſt thing he minded in this life; who a few days before his death was married to the Daughter of the Earl of *Ogle*, and Grand-daughter to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*; thereby to ſettle, as well as honour, his Family by an Alliance with ſo Noble a Houſe.

After he had ſeen *Britain* rejoycing in Triumphs, beheld

beheld *Charles* confirmed in the Throne by ten years happy Reign, and after he had adminiſtred the greateſt Offices of Truſt under the King, both in Peace and War, being upwards of ſixty years of age, he yielded to Deſtiny, which he willingly and undauntedly ſubmitted unto; that after the Trophies of a paſt Life, he might at length triumph over Death. 1669,70.

He left but one onely Son, the Illuſtrious Inheritour of his Fathers Fame, hopeful to the State, and cheriſhed by the King as his own. *Charles* who had often viſited and condoled with him in his ſickneſs, was with him to the laſt, and expreſſed the ſame affection for dying *Albemarle*, that he had teſtified to him during his life.

The Solemnity of his Funerals

From *Somerſet*-houſe, where he had lain in ſtate, he was with a ſplendid pomp of ſolemn Funerals at the *Kings* charges conveyed to *Weſtminſter*-Abbey, and there amidſt the Tears and Condolings of all good men, interred amongſt the Auguſt Monuments of Kings, being the laſt Triumph due to his memory.

They who are curious to have a deſcription of the ſhapes and countenance of ſo great a man, may know; that he was a perſon more graceful than beautiful; of a middle ſtature, ſtrong and well comparted, with a comely preſence; and of a compoſed, rather than ſevere or ſtern, aſpect.

His Courage.

He may eaſily be reckoned a moſt valiant *General* in War, not onely to be compared to the chief Commanders of his own age, but to the moſt renowned Warriours of elder times; and of ſo great reputation he was in Military affairs, that the modeſteſt do acknowledge too great a Courage in *Albemarle*. He ſpent almoſt his whole life in Arms, and at length growing old amidſt Victories, he became gray-headed under a Helmet.

In

1659,60.

In *Britain* and *Ireland*, by Sea and by Land, so happy was *Albemarle*, that Fortune traced out for him, Honour, Renown, and Titles. He had indeed a hidden and a silent kind of Sagacity in the management of affairs, and improved almost all the Arts of Prudence by Silence.

His Prudence,

And Modesty.

He had a Modesty that set off all the other Virtues of his Mind; nor was he ever heard to brag of what he had done or deserved. The Fame of so great a man, doubtless inferiour to no other Mortal, will propagate it self to Posterity, who, without Pride or Ostentation, gratified a banished Prince with so signal Services, and only rejoyced in the conscientious performance of his Duty and Obedience.

Tacit. *Hist.* l. 3.

Nor after the Restauration of *Charles*, did he behave himself as a Colleague in the Government, as *Mucianus* was of old reported to have done to *Vespasian*, but as a Servant; neither did he ever boast, that having the Power in his own hands, he had bestowed it upon another, whereby he burned, to his glory, the Arrogance of the *Rump*, and the Impudence of *Cromwel*: his Loyalty inclining him more to give up, than his Ambition to retain the Government.

We may, moreover, reckon *Albemarle* happy, not onely in the greatness of the Action, but also in the seasonableness of the Service: That he brought back the Government to a Prince of so just and good a temper, who put so true an estimate upon his Loyalty, and under whom it would never be unsafe nor dangerous to deserve the most: *For good Offices are acceptable*, especially to Kings, *so long as the obliged think they may be able to requite them; but when they are too great to be rewarded, instead of Thanks they procure Hatred. And it is rare, and almost*

Tacit. *Annal.* lib. 4.

moſt unuſual, for Princes to think themſelves obliged; or if they think ſo, to love their Benefactors. 1669, 70. Plin. *Panegyr.*

Peace being now eſtabliſhed at home, and *Janus* his Temple ſhut, *Albemarle* departed the more joyfully out of this life, that when he left no Troubles in *Britain*, yet he left behind him a Love for himſelf in the hearts of all good men: ſo much the more wanted, that he had taken care that nothing ſhould be wanting, having left nothing in the State but his own death to be bewailed; the *King* flouriſhing in his Government, and the Loyalty of the *Parliament* as yet vieing with the modeſty of the *Prince*. Every one enjoyed the happineſs they deſired at home, and Peace with all Nations abroad, till the League-breaking *Dutch* again provoked the Engliſh Arms.

But the Actions of that War, the ſteddy Fortune of the *Britiſh* Nation, and the future Triumphs of *CHARLES*, I have ſet aſide as a ſubject for my more advanced years.

FINIS.

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A Catalogue of some Books printed for and to be sold by *Abel Swalle.*

DR. *Comber's* Companion to the Temple, or Help to Devotion, in 4 parts. *fol.*

Dr. *Allestry's* Forty Sermons, whereof Twenty one now first published.

The Works of Mr. *Abraham Cowley.* The Eighth Edition.

The second part of the Works of Mr. *Abraham Cowley:* being what was written in his younger years. The Fifth Edition.

The Case of Resistance of the Supreme Powers, Stated and Resolved, by Dr. *Sherlock,* in 8°.

Dr. *Sherlock's* Vindication of the Rights of Ecclesiastical Authority: being an Answer to the first part of the *Protestant Reconciler,* 8°.

Pet. Dan. Huetii de Interpret. Lib. 2. quarum prior est de Optimo Genere Interpret. Alter de Claris Interpret. &c. in 8°.

L. Cælii Lactantii Firmiani Opera quæ extant ad fidem MSS. recognita & Commentariis Illustrata à Tho. Spark. Oxon, & *Theat. Sheld.*

The Case of Compelling Men to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper considered. By the Author of the Charge of Scandal.

A Sermon preached before the King at [illegible], 1686. 2°. by [illegible], D.D.

A Discourse concerning the Object of Religious Worship: or, a Scripture-proof of the unlawfulness of giving any Religious Worship to any other Being beside the one Supreme God. Part 1.

A Discourse about the Charge of Novelty upon the Reformed Church of *England*, made by the Papists asking of us this Question, *Where was your Religion before* Luther?

A Discourse about Tradition: shewing what is meant by it, and what Tradition is to be Received, and what Tradition is to be Rejected.

The Protestant Religion on Faith, being an Answer to three Questions, &c.

A Discourse concerning a Guide in Matters of Faith.

A Discourse concerning the Unity of the Catholick Church, maintained in the Church of *England*.

A Discourse concerning Invocation of Saints.

A Discourse concerning Auricular Confession, as it is prescribed by the Council of *Trent*, and practised in the Church of *Rome*.

There is now in the Press, and will speedily be published *Philosophia Vetus & Nova ad usum Scholæ accommodata in Regia Burgundiæ olim pertractata*. 2 Vol. Duodecim. According to the Edition printed at *Paris*, 1684. in 2 vol. 4°